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ABSTRACT

This is a report of a case study, in the anthropological tradition, of an elementary school with a bilingual-bicultural program. The research was carried out in 1978. The school is in a community of 45,000 located close to the California-Mexican border. Eighty-seven percent of the pupil population are of Hispanic background, 10 percent are Anglo, 1 percent are Filipino and slightly over 1 percent are black. The school has used a language maintenance bilingual education model since the program was begun in 1969. The study is based on a general view of schools as academic organizations with internally generated social norms, role expectations, and patterned behavior and as instruments of cultural transmission and socialization for the parental constituency and the broader culture/community. The research focused on questions relating to: 1) the interaction of cultural differences, schooling processes, and teacher behavior; 2) the effect of federal and state intervention on the organization of the program and the life of the school; and 3) the role and involvement of parents in the school. (Author)

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Bilingual Education at Campbell School: A Case Study

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Abstract

This is a report of a case study, in the anthropological tradition, of an elementary school with a bilingual-bicultural program. The research was carried out in 1978. The school is in a community of 45,000 located close to the California-Mexican border. 87% of the pupil population are of Hispanic background, 10% are Anglo, 1% are Filipino and slightly over 1% are black. The school has used a language maintenance bilingual education model since the program was begun in 1969. The study is based on a general view of schools as academic organizations with internally generated social norms, role expectations, and patterned behavior and as instruments of cultural transmission and socialization for the parental constituency and the broader culture/community. The research focused on questions relating to 1) the interaction of cultural differences, schooling processes, and teacher behavior; 2) the effect of federal and state intervention on the organization of the program and the life of the school, and 3) the role and involvement of parents in the school.

Preface

The fieldwork on which this report is based was conducted in 1978 during sabbatical leave. I wish to thank the University of Kentucky for support during that period including preliminary site visit travel funds granted by the University of Kentucky Research Foundation. I also wish to thank the National Institute of Education for a grant (NIE-G-80-0066) in support of writing this report.

Individuals to whom I am indebted for help in the fieldwork or writing phases of the research are the following: George Spindler, Skip Kifer, Richard Angelo, and Ethel Warren for valuable suggestions about portions of earlier drafts; colleagues in the Department of Social and Philosophical Studies and College of Education for their continuing interest and encouragement: Ethel Warren and Dan Vantreese for graphics, Sharon Hamilton for patience, skill, and good humor while typing many drafts and the final copy and educators in the Westland area for instructive discussions relating to bilingual education programs.

I want in particular to express my deep thanks to the Principal, Faculty, and staff of Campbell, the Superintendent, Deputy Superintendent and staff of Westland School District, Campbell parents, municipal officials, and the Westland School Board. Their interest and cooperation is greatly appreciated and made the study possible.

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Bilingual Education at Campbell School: A Case Study

Introduction

Campbell[1] is one of nine elementary schools in Westland, a California coastal community of 45,000 located in a metropolitan area close to the Mexican border. Almost half of Westland's population is of Hispanic background. The city's industrial base and extensive low rental housing attract semi-skilled and unskilled workers including Mexicans, part of the continuous in-migration that characterizes the border area. Through the years Mexican immigrants have tended to settle in Westland's central city "Old Town" neighborhood where Campbell School is located and where there is now a bilingual program functional to the needs of their children--and grandchildren.

Bilingual-bicultural education is a volatile subject provoking intense support, uncompromising opposition, and at times assuming mythic proportions in the claims made about it. Basically it is a federally mandated program directed at achieving equal access to schooling for children whose mother tongue is other than English. Equal access to educational resources is a fundamental value in a democratic, pluralistic society but until recently it has best served the interests of white, middle class Americans. With the Brown vs. Topeka Supreme Court decision of 1954 the federal government

embarked on what has become a continuing process of defining, expanding and evaluating the role of equal access in the schooling experience of all children and youth. The process has evolved through legislation, court decisions, administrative agency guidelines, the policies and practices of individual schools and school districts, and special programs. Court decisions and federal/state legislation continue to elaborate on the parameters and requirements of equal access or such variants as equal educational opportunity and least restricted environment. But the current focus is on the nature and efficacy of the programs themselves. It is a focus made more pressing by increasing public concern about the cost of such programs, their achievements thus far, and, in the case of bilingual-bicultural programs, the implications for ethnic separatism. Hence the program at Campbell operates within a highly charged ideological, political, and economic context.

The research reported here proceeded within that context. In the anthropological tradition I was the sole investigator, observing in classrooms, interviewing, attending meetings, collecting documentation and in general developing over an eight month period an in-depth description and analysis of Campbell's program. Debate about the merits and organization of a bilingual program was a continuing factor in the study. While the district administration and school faculty accepted and supported the research, conceived and presented to them essentially as a descriptive case study, they were mainly interested in its potential applications. The district's letter of approval to me affirmed support for studies which "have implications for improving the instructional program of the district." The

matter of relevance of the study to school and district needs also came up regularly in discussions with school board officials, teachers, and parents. In brief both research role and setting were subject to dynamics which I had not experienced in previous studies nor altogether anticipated in this one.

Previous research

This research is the third of three case studies of elementary schools carried out over a period of fifteen years.[2] The first study was of a school in a rural German village (1967) and the second, of a school in a United States suburban-industrial city of 100,000 (1973a, 1973b, 1975b). Each study held a general view of schools as academic organizations with internally generated social norms, role expectations, and patterned behavior and as instruments of cultural transmission and socialization for the parental constituency and the broader culture/community. Each study also had a particular research interest. The German study focused on the stabilizing and mediating role of the school in a village undergoing cultural change as a result of industrialization. The second study focused on the teaching experience. That research was organized to examine teaching within four major contexts--classroom, school, parental constitutency, and school district. It described the operating relationships between teachers and the key roles and organizational arrangements at various contextual levels.

The two schools, each in a unique cultural setting, were, one could fairly say, "traditional" in organization and classroom practice. Findings

from the German study showed that the Rebhausen school functioned primarily as a transmitter of the traditional culture and that teachers as socialization agents implemented and reinforced norms and values of family and village life. Discontinuities between school and community and between the socialization roles of teachers and parents were found to be more prevalent in the second study, of Calhoun school. That study was conducted over a three year period and completed in 1970. At that time schooling at Calhoun was not yet measurably affected by developing federal/state programmatic prescriptions.

The contrast with Campbell in 1978 is considerable. Campbell's bilingual-bicultural program is a federal/state mandated intervention directed at affecting major changes in classroom and school practice and in the articulation of school and cultural context. It represented, therefore, a distinctive research setting for continuing inquiry into the nature of schooling and teaching and into the interaction of cultural differences, schooling processes, and teacher behavior.

Conceptual and value questions

Interest in bilingual-bicultural education as research topic is also related to judgments about its significance and utility. To the degree such judgments are personal they derive, in my case, from a professional identification with both anthropology and education. From an educational perspective bilingual-bicultural programs represent a significant development in the evolution of the public school. They are, in one sense, the ultimate test of whether schools can become meaningfully responsive to cultural heterogeneity -- and can foster a bicultural experience and identity.

There is no question that ethnic/cultural differences create problems for children in traditional classrooms. Such problems develop in different areas, e.g., communication, social behavior, cognitive style, and values and are amply reported.[3] The dilemma for schools lies not so much in the identification of cultural differences but in the difficulty of systematizing teaching practices which are specifically responsive to variable cultural differences among minority children. Within any ethnic/cultural group, and certainly among children as they proceed through school, there is a range of differences with regard to cultural-or ethnic-specific behavior and attitudes. While schools need to respond intelligently to cultural differences, they also need to guard against a presumptuous, even arrogant, point of view that they can lock on to a "mean" cultural profile and instruct accordingly. Gibson critiques the application of biculturalism theory to educational practice:

> First, in actual practice it runs the danger of equating culture with a language or ethnic group, for example, Chicanos, Chicano culture.... Second, it tends to over-emphasize ethnic identity, running the risk of preventing students from choosing to emphasize other identities. Third, it tends to see bilingual-bicultural education as a panacea for all social and educational ills.... And, finally, a fourth weakness with the bicultural education approach....is that it tends to equate education with formal school instruction and to presume that the school is responsible or should take responsibility for the child's "socialization in two or more cultures." (Gibson, 1976:14)

As a theoretical perspective on the individual experience within two convergent cultural systems bicultural (or its variations biculturation, biculturalism, biculturality) has been used infrequently, mainly in studies of socialization (Polgar, 1960), acculturation (Bruner, 1956; McFee, 1968), acculturation and self-concept (Arias, 1976), and ethnic identity and acculturation (Clark, Kaufmann, and Pierce, 1976). The research by Clark, Kaufmann, and Pierce on three generations of Mexican Americans and Japanese Americans is especially pertinent to this study. The authors describe six ways in which the three generations define themselves in relation to their "bicultural life situations." They report that the most significant factor in the six different "styles of bicultural life" is individual choice in the presentation of the self as more Anglicized or more "ethnic" (1976:236). We may legitimately think of Campbell as a bicultural life situation and one that for pupils of Hispanic background ironically has two versions--their traditional minority status in the broader society and their overwhelming majority status in the school.

Site selection and entrée

A bilingual-bicultural program serving a Spanish speaking population in a border area was the major site requirement. In total design the research included a secondary line of inquiry to obtain data on the schooling experience Mexican children bring with them when they cross the border with their families and are enrolled in U.S. schools. Hence I was interested in two sites in close proximity, perhaps no more than an hour's drive from each other.[4]

Preliminary recommendations for sites and contacts with school officials were obtained through colleagues in border area universities--and were followed

with correspondence and phone calls to introduce the research proposal, to solicit a district's reaction to it, and to obtain information on district programs. One such foray was aborted early on after I received the following reply (from a "middle level" administrator in one system):

> I don't think you want to do your study here. Even if they let you in it won't be easy. People are uptight about bilingual education and the district is going to get into trouble with the way it's spending money. Anyway, I'm leaving at the end of the year.

In considering sites I had little opportunity to determine how conflict-ridden a school might be, how engulfed in animosity -- within the faculty, between faculty and principal, parents and teachers, school board and principal. However, I hoped the school would be relatively free of debilitating conflict. I wanted to study a bilingual-bicultural program under ameliorating conditions--even approaching the ideal--so that data could be considered within the context of the question, How does a bilingual-bicultural program work, in one school, under the best of circumstances? As it turned out Campbell had a strong program, that is, a relatively sophisticated organization, ample resources, competent faculty, eight years of experience, and withal a good reputation in the district, the region, and to some degree the state.

The initiation of fieldwork in January, 1978, was preceded by three extended visits to Westland over a year's time--to discuss the proposal with district administrators, to obtain their permission to conduct the research, to determine which school would be the preferable site, and to present the proposal to the school faculty for review and approval. During these visits a parallel sequence of site selection procedures was carried out in a Mexican border community.

Research questions

The specific questions this research seeks to answer will be presented within the context of data on two events at Campbell -- events which serve to frame the research in time and organizational setting. The first event, a grammar lesson, took place early in the study. The second, an evaluation study by the school district of Campbell's program, occurred almost a year after on-site research was completed.

A grammar lesson in Spanish and English

Campbell uses a language maintenance team-teaching model for the bilingual program. Each grade has a component for Spanish dominant children and a component for English dominant children. In the first grade, 80% of instruction is in the dominant language; 20% in the second language. Ideally by the fourth grade instruction is divided equally between the two languages. Key concepts and topics are introduced or previewed in the dominant language and reinforced or reviewed in the second language.

The grammar lesson involves the second/third grade combined Spanish component class. Claudia Martinez, the Spanish component teacher, is bilingual and Mexican American. One of her pupils is Beatriz Ortega. Beatriz speaks and reads Spanish and English almost equally well although her parents use Spanish exclusively in the home. Her younger sister in the first grade and younger brother in kindergarten are in the early stages of learning English. This sample of classroom life is used here because Beatriz participates in both the Spanish and English lessons. The lesson

begins at 9:30 a.m. The class has already had opening exercises and math. Ms. Martinez introduces the lesson:

Martinez: "Vamos a repasar la lección de ayer a las de la oración que hemos estudiado durantes de la semana. Voy a demonstrarles una oración y quiero que ustedes indican el sujeto y el verbo y el adjetivo. Aquí está la oración. [She holds up a sentence card that reads, Los niños cantaron alegre.] Qué es el adjetivo -- Sofía?"

Sofia: "Alegre."

Martinez: "Alegre. Beatriz ¿recuerda qué es el sujeto de la oración?"

Beatriz: "Niños."

Martinez: "Niños. Muy bien. ¿Y el verbo?"

Beatriz: "Cantaron."

Martinez: "Cantaron. Muy bien. Estaba correcta. Los niños es el sujeto; cantaron, el verbo; y alegre, el adjetivo. A ver a demonstar otra oración y quiero que por favor me indican las partes. [The sentence card reads, Maria compró una hermosa bolsa.] Leticia ¿me quieres decir cuál es el sujeto de esta oración?"

Leticia: "Maria."

And so the lesson continues. At times the teacher asks a child to read the sentence before beginning the identification of parts of speech. Now and then a sentence provokes a comment by teacher or pupil about a similar personal experience. The lesson ends at 10:00 a.m. with recess.

At the end of recess Beatriz and her Spanish component classmates exchange rooms, across the hall, with the third grade English component class

and Beatriz has the grammar lesson in English. Judith Lawrence, the teacher, is a non-Spanish speaking Anglo. When the group is settled and quiet Ms. Lawrence begins.

Lawrence: "Now I have some cards that I put on your desks and I'd like you to take the rubber band off and let's look at these cards. There's a package of cards for each two students. I want you to go through the cards, pick out words that are subjects, words that are verbs, and words that are adjectives. Then make at least two sentences." [She pauses, the children begin work, and she moves about the tables helping the children and correcting mistakes.]

Lawrence: "Francisco, read your sentence to the class."

Francisco: "The roaring lion scared us."

Lawrence: "Very good. The roaring lion scared us. What's the subject in that sentence, Francisco?"

Francisco: "Lion."

Lawrence: "Lion. Very good. And what did the lion do, Daniel?"

Daniel: "Scared us."

Lawrence: "Good. And is there a word in there that describes the lion, Beatriz?"

Beatriz: "Roaring."

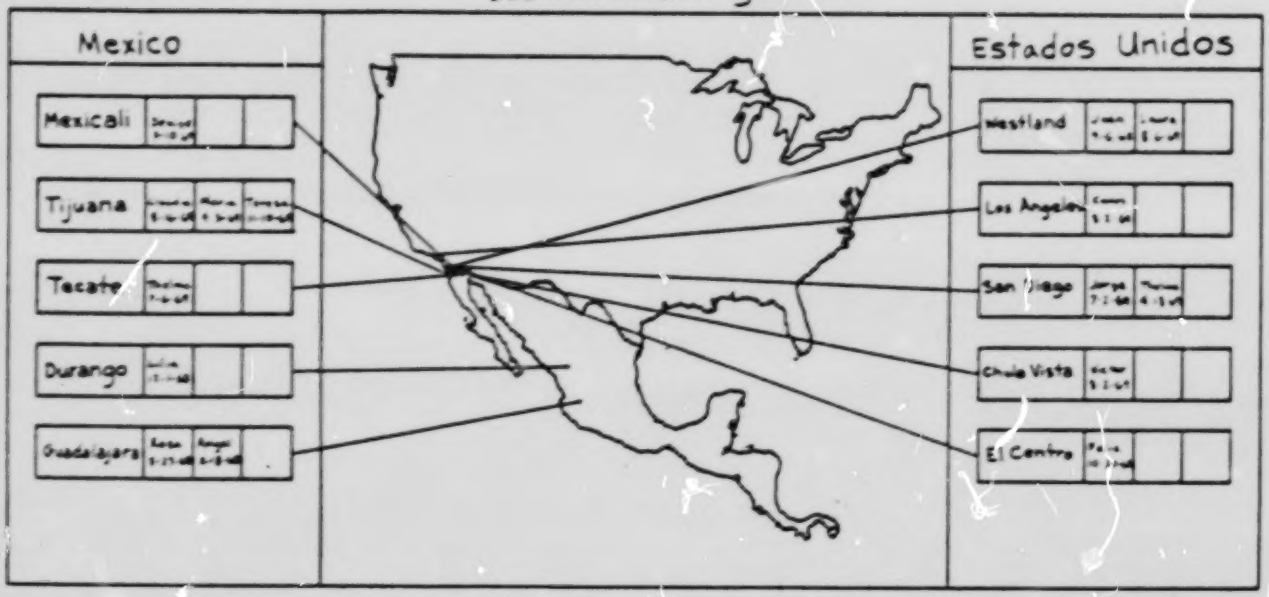
Lawrence: "Roaring. Right. And what sentence do you and Rosa have?"

Beatriz: "The silly smart turtle dances."

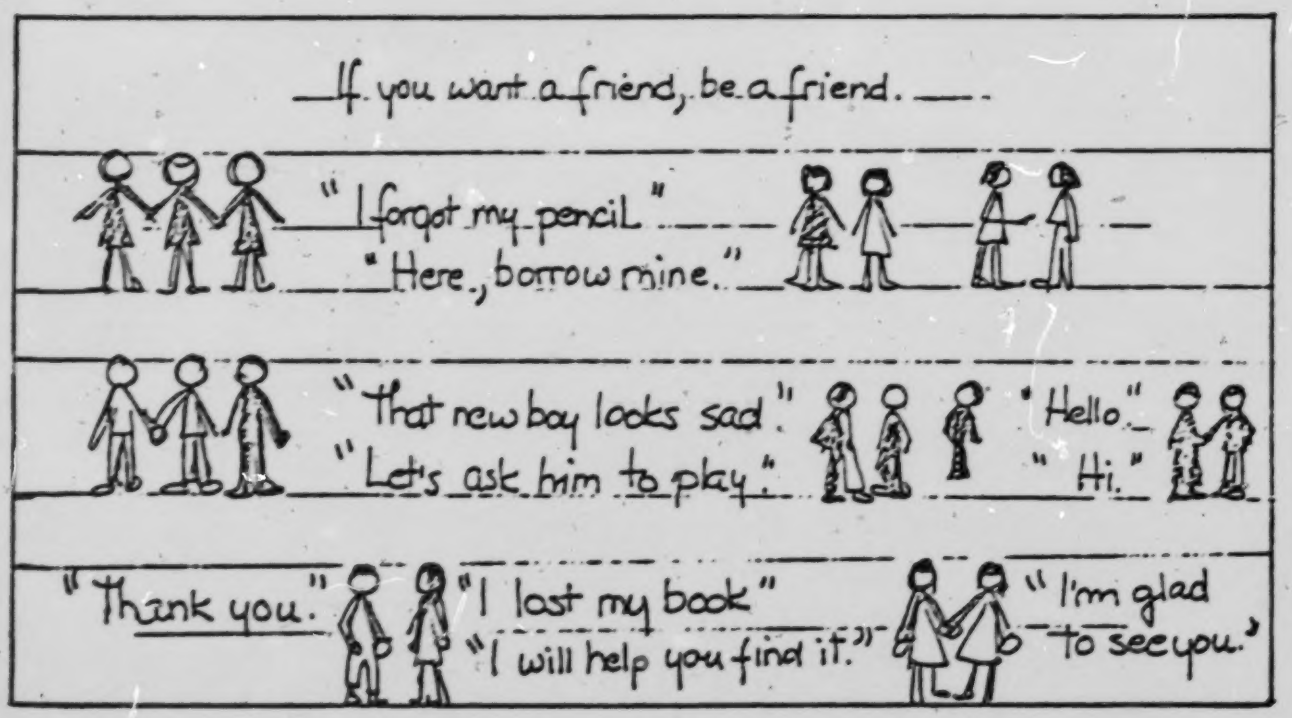
Lawrence: "Good. [She smiles.] Do turtles dance? [The girls grin sheepishly] No, not usually."

Judith Lawrence has been teaching six years but this is her first year at Campbell. Claudia is now in her seventh year at the school. Setting aside for the moment teacher data on background, training, and teaching style I will simply present here two visual displays which differentiate their classrooms. In Claudia's room one large section of the bulletin board is taken up with the following chart of student birthplaces:

Dos Naciones Amigas



On the back wall of Ms. Lawrence's room is the following display:


If you want a friend, be a friend.
"I forgot my pencil."
"Here, borrow mine."
"That new boy looks sad."
"Let's ask him to play."
"Hello."
"Hi."
"Thank you."
"I lost my book"
"I will help you find it."
"I'm glad to see you."

The first display affirms the presence of children with a Hispanic background. The second states a social value which enhances interpersonal relations in classroom life.

In these displays and this grammar lesson are manifest the operating purposes of Campbell's instructional program--that is, within the basic objectives and processes of elementary schooling to develop and maintain bilingual facility, to enhance cultural diversity through the explicit recognition of cultural differences, and to socialize children in a common core of belief and behavior functional to success in the academic/organizational life of the school. How does all this work in a school with a predominantly Mexican American pupil population? What is required of the school in organizing and implementing a bilingual-bicultural program? How sensitive or impervious to cultural differences are schooling processes? Does the dominant Mexican American pupil presence in the classroom affect in observable ways classroom practice or teacher behavior and teacher values? The research seeks to answer these and related questions.

The evaluation study

The second event, an evaluation study of Campbell's program, takes us from a single classroom to a setting in which the entire district/community

is involved. The report on the study was presented to the Board in July, 1979. The genesis of the study was a letter to a district desegregation committee by Arlene Jackson, teacher of Campbell's English only 4/5/6 combined class. In the letter she stated that Campbell's Mexican American students in the bilingual/bicultural program scored lower in English than Mexican American students in other district schools, and she proposed as cause that Campbell children are isolated from other ethnic groups and English speakers. She said that at the district school where she previously taught her "Mexican American students were allowed to use English and think of themselves as capable, energetic, assertive 'Americans' and [they] accomplished more than Mexican American children 'programmed' to be 'Mexican' in a bilingual-bicultural setting." She continued:

> Having worked with students at both schools, I have observed non-English speaking immigrants enter English-only classes [at the other school] and in six months function at a higher skill level in English than some of their second or third generation counterparts who have been in Campbell's bilingual-bicultural program for years.... I see my Mexican American students at Campbell being directed toward being "Mexican" more than "American" or just sensitive caring human individuals learning to interact with other sensitive caring human individuals.

She protested the enormous amount of money put into the Campbell program and ended the letter by advocating a transitional bilingual program that would move students into English only classes as quickly as possible.

At the next Board meeting a petition with over 100 signatures was presented requesting that Mrs. Jackson be transferred. The petition read in part:

> We, the parents and members of the Campbell School community demand an in-depth investigation regarding the letter.... To say that the children would be good citizens and more American if they are given instruction in English, is to actually manifest racial prejudice towards the Spanish speaking society of this country.
>
> For this, the distorted idea she has of what is going on at Campbell School, and for many other reasons, we find this teacher unacceptable. Furthermore, since she has such a negative attitude toward our bilingual-bicultural program, we ask that she be transferred to another school where she will be happier and she will not damage our children psychologically to whom she inculcates contempt for our language and our culture. We also ask that if there are other people who have a negative attitude about bilingual education, they too should be transferred to other schools as soon as possible.

The Board accepted the petition without comment but within a month appointed a "Special Task Force" to examine the issues raised in Mrs. Jackson's letter. The group was composed of seven individuals: the district deputy superintendent as chairman, the director of special services, a principal, two teachers and two parents all from schools other than Campbell. The study consisted of classroom observations, interviews with the Campbell faculty and staff, a review of all pertinent evaluation data, a parent survey (60 families visited by community aides) and finally a parent meeting.

It is rare indeed when personnel at a school site themselves conduct a study which in small measure is comparable to an extended study carried out by an outside investigator. Because, therefore, the report is not only an evaluation of the Campbell program, but also an important source of data to be compared with this research it is reproduced in its entirety in the appendix. Since the controversy was highly publicized, pertinent selections from the local newspaper account of the report follow:

-Westland Daily News, July 19, 1979

BILINGUAL ED TASK FORCE FINDS
GOOD, BAD AT CAMPBELL

The special task force charged with studying bilingual education at Campbell found some good--some bad, but it did find the study could be a blueprint for all programs....

A SUMMARY of information gleaned through [the report] showed that many parents are confused about their role in the bilingual program and the progress of their children.

It was determined that parents want more parent meetings to keep abreast and need to be informed and consulted about shifts or program changes.

The task force found no permission slips were used at Campbell for those in the bilingual program and that these are required by law.

Some teachers and aides felt too much Spanish was spoken on the playground and in free time but parents didn't show concern for this.

THEY FOUND that parents were concerned about the dropout rate in junior high and the task force recommended more work with the junior high schools to make the transition easier. They also wanted better methods developed for tracking Campbell students in the junior high schools.

Some complaint was voiced that programs and assemblies were "too Mexican" but the task force found emphasis upon many culture.

Entry level tests at Campbell given to first graders in October were lower than 99% of state school districts. The district scored lower than 92%.

Campbell has a significantly greater number of students with limited English than the district as a whole, 53% to 22%.

Basic skills tests show Campbell generally has achieved below the district average but its growth rate is nearly the same.

Sixth grade English dominant students at Campbell who have been in Westland District all their school careers were significantly lower than the district average but this difference did not prove true of the other grades.

Campbell students were at or above district average in math although the difference was not statistically significant.

STRENGTHS of the bilingual program were that children felt good about themselves, were being taught basic skills in two languages, and there was strong parent involvement, especially among Spanish-speaking parents.

Weaknesses are that there is some inconsistency in the program model being followed. There is also some difficulty in matching

team teaching partners, leading to personality and philosophical clashes.

There is an implied opinion that Campbell kids are not successful in junior high and a need for more preparation to get students ready for this step.

MONITORING of achievement and expectations in both languages is not as strong as it should be some say and there is an inconsistency in placement procedures and parent and staff roles need clarification.

Aides feel they are left out of the decision-making process and staff meetings. No teaching goes on during testing, they say, and there are no options for underachievers in either language.

Miscellaneous comments showed that about as many parents voiced concerns as those who didn't. Though not directed at the program, a concern was expressed by staff about parents being in the teachers' lounge -- no staff privacy.

BUT AT NO time did anyone say "do away with the bilingual education program," the report said....

In the chain of events which led to the report (and, in Ms. Jackson's case, involuntary transfer) intense feelings are expressed. The role of a bilingual-bicultural program in affecting and reinforcing identity with the dominant or minority culture is in question. Teachers and parents are protagonists. We shall see that between and within the two groups there are both consensual and conflicting attitudes about the program and one's individual stake in it.

Through the evaluation study the school district acted as a representative of both groups as well as the community at large. The district is also a surrogate for state and federal agencies and their mandates which affect Campbell's bilingual/bicultural program. How prescriptive are these mandates? In what way and to what degree are the life of the school and teaching practice in particular affected by such intervention? How do these mandates structure and influence the role of parents in school affairs?

The above questions - and those relating to the grammar lesson - reflect the view of schools mentioned earlier, that is, its dual nature and function as an educational organization and as an instrument of cultural transmission. How one conceptualizes schools effects not only the kind of research one undertakes--what essentially one looks for--but also of course the conclusions reached about any single facet of school life. In a broad sense this research is aimed at explicating the connections and interactions between structure (organization) and process (cultural transmission). The data presented here is organized and sequenced to further that explication. Chapter I portrays the community, the neighborhood and the school and then presents extensive testing and other measurement data on Campbell's pupils -- the purpose being to "lay on the table" at the outset the more publicized and comparative measures of Campbell's bilingual program achievement. Chapter II summarizes the history of the program. It also reports key court decisions, legislation and administrative agency rulings which effect the evolution, structure and content of Campbell's program. Chapter III concentrates on the internal life of the school--on organization and process in the classroom and on both bilingual and bicultural aspects of the program. Chapter IV moves outside the classroom to examine the nature and basis for parent and faculty

participation in school life. Chapter V summarizes major developments at Campbell in the school years 1978-81 (since the original fieldwork was completed). Chapter VI presents conclusions.

Notes, Introduction

1. Pseudonyms are used for the school, the community, and individuals.
2. In a fourth study (1975a) a combined elementary/secondary off-reservation Indian boarding school was the institutional setting for a study of dormitory aides.
3. See for example, Boggs, 1972; Guilmet, 1978, 1979; Sindell, 1974; Lein, 1975; Ramirez and Price-Williams, 1974; Figueroa and Gallegos, 1978.
4. During my residence in the Westland area I observed in a Mexican border community elementary school at least once each week. A report on that aspect of the research will be made in a later publication.

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Chapter I. Community, Neighborhood and School

Westland is located in the southwest corner of the southern California environs. Mexico is a 20 minute drive south; Los Angeles, a two and one-half hour drive to the north. The city's population of 45,000 is part of a metropolitan area of over 1.5 million people. Westland enjoys the benign climate of coastal southern California -- a monthly mean temperature ranging from 56 degrees in January to 70 degrees in July, relative humidity in the 68-75% range, and an average annual rainfall of approximately nine inches. It also enjoys, and the chamber of commerce extolls, the natural and man-made recreational and cultural amenities which the metropolitan area offers -- swimming, sport fishing, surfing, a world famous zoo, professional sports, museums and more.

Westland's 6.6 square miles form almost a square, bounded on the west by the ocean and on the north, east, and south by communities which are part of the metropolitan area. Like so many California coastal communities Westland's boundaries are "redefined" by freeways which disrupt old neighborhoods and give birth to new subdivisions. The two north-south freeways which run through Westland divide the city into a large middle section, commercial and residential, and two outer sections. To the west of the main coastal freeway are light industry, the marine terminal and a small neighborhood that is part of Campbell's attendance area. To the east of the inland connecting freeway are residential subdivisions which spill up into foothills. Whichever freeway one uses in approaching Westland there is the partial sensation that the trip is being made by air and that with arrival a landing has been completed. The freeways

move through deep cuts and rise to long elevated stretches bringing a roof-top introduction to Westland. Then off-ramps dump one unceremoniously into the community. In appearance the city is not distinctive. The freeway off-ramps lead into strip commercial development, sprawling shopping centers, or the old downtown section crowded with bars. There is monotonous regularity in the stucco or frame construction found in most residential areas.

The Chamber of Commerce describes Westland as "fast becoming one of California's most promising industrial cities." In 1970 total employment was 10,277; 23.5 percent were in manufacturing, 21.3 percent in retail and wholesale trade, and 18.1 percent were employed by government, principally the United States Navy.[1] The city's 1977 Plan for Community Development is not as sanguine. It affirms that economic conditions are not uniformly favorable and states that there is "more deterioration in housing, commercial and industrial areas than other cities in the county." In per capita income ($3,701 in 1974) Westland ranks 139 among the 145 California cities with populations over 25,000. In 1970 the income of approximately 10 percent of Westland's families was below the poverty level. The unemployment rate has historically been one of the highest in the area and there are no large vacant or agricultural areas adjacent to the city which can be annexed to increase the tax base. Nevertheless, with over 50 manufacturing plants and a thriving marine terminal the city has become in recent years what the founder, John Campbell, originally envisioned.

Campbell, a successful builder in northern California, came south in the late 1860's for health reasons. While looking for a home site he found a 26,632 acre cattle ranch for sale. He persuaded two brothers to join him in purchasing the land and building a city -- to be named after the ranch itself, Rancho del Oeste. The ranch had originally been grazing ground for

the herds of a nearby Spanish mission. The military took control of it in 1795. A half century later the ranch was given in grant by the Mexican governor, Pío Pico, to a young Englishmen, a merchant who had settled in the area and married the governor's sister. The ranch was sold to bankers in 1856 and in 1868 the Campbell brothers purchased it for $30,000.

The first two decades after purchase were spent developing real estate, attracting and financing new business and negotiating for a railroad connection. When the Sante Fe Railroad agreed to build a line, the city of Westland was incorporated in 1887. But within a year the railroad relocated its repair yards and terminal buildings and Campbell was left with a spur line. He decided to make Westland a port city, developed the bay frontage, and built a 1800 foot wharf. Sea trade began to increase, but that vision aborted too. Within six years marine termites destroyed the wharf and Campbell resigned himself to commercial agriculture. Olive and lemon groves and celery fields took the place of what were to have been industries and residential areas. The founder died in 1913 and Westland remained a rural/suburban area until rapid commercial growth began after World War II. Table 1-1 shows Westland's population growth in the period 1900-1975.

Table 1-1. Westland's Population Growth, 1900-1975

Year	Population	Percentage Increase
1900	1,086	
1910	1,733	59.6
1920	3,116	79.8
1930	7,301	134.3
1940	10,344	41.7
1950	21,199	104.9
1960	32,771	54.6
1970	43,184	31.8
1975	44,289	2.6

The accelerated commercial and industrial development in the decades following World War II which stimulated rapid population growth was aided by low cost industrial sites with good surface, rail and air transportation facilities nearby, an expanding labor market of semi-skilled workers (attracted to Westland by the abundance of low rental housing) and the development of a modern marine terminal to serve large seagoing tonnage.

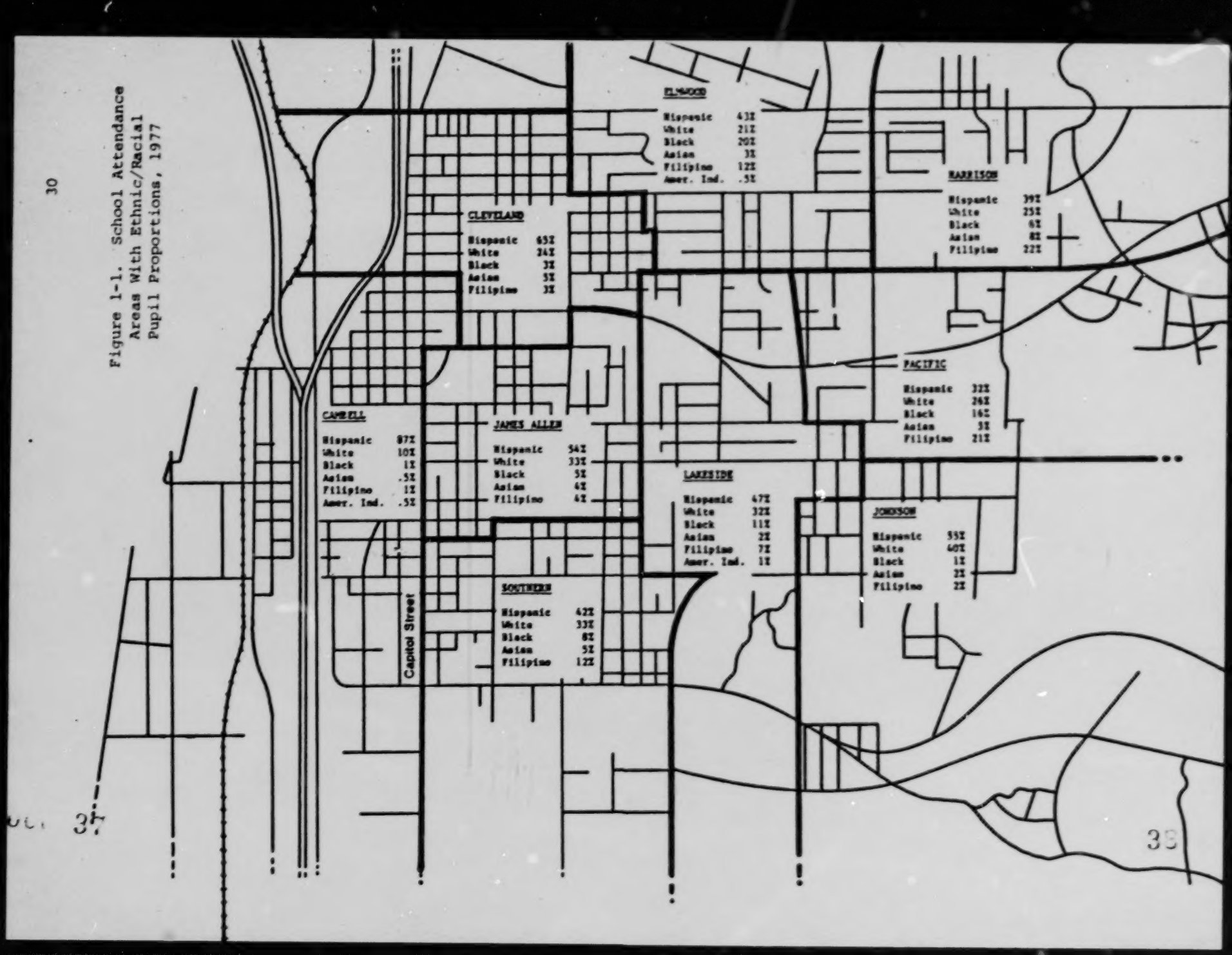
Westland operates under the council-manager form of municipal government. The council consists of a mayor and four councilpersons elected to four year terms. Councilpersons receive $3,540.00 yearly for their services; the mayor, $10,000. The city manager is the chief administrative officer, responsible to the council for the management of city affairs. Westland has the normal municipal boards and commissions, i.e., library, park and recreation, civil service, planning, traffic safety, historical, senior citizens -- and the council has the typical municipal problems to solve, i.e., policy and firemen pension plans, taxation and the cost of city services, zoning regulations governing commercial development, plans for a senior citizens center, the deterioration of the downtown business area. The council does not encroach on the authority of the Westland School District's governing board. Interaction is largely ceremonial; the mayor helped dedicate the mini-park built adjacent to Campbell. Councilpersons do appear more frequently at school celebrations during an election campaign, but only once since January, 1978 has a city official injected himself into a school controversy. During the prolonged effort to adopt a desegregation plan for schools with imbalanced ethnic/racial populations, the mayor appeared at one Campbell meeting to state he opposed busing to solve the problem.

The Neighborhood

The city's 1977 General Plan does not recognize the neighborhood's residential character. The plan calls for light or medium industrial zoning with two small sections designated as tourist commercial. But the neighborhood is there, squeezed in between industry and freeway to the west and between freeway and commercial strip to the east. Campbell families typically live in small frame houses set on small lots fronting wide paved streets. Street corner lots are generally occupied by gas stations, warehouses and the like. Small businesses are interspersed among the houses as are vacant lots, some with aging rundown boats hoisted on scaffolding. There is a worn but clean appearance to the groups of houses -- with colorful flower beds dispersed intermittently in yards along with bicycles and toys.

When Campbell School was built in 1941 (and named for the city's founder) it replaced two old buildings constructed shortly after the Westland School District was established in 1871. Those schools served a population located largely to the west of Capitol ~~Avenue~~ Street, the present east boundary line of Campbell's attendance area (see Figure 1-1). Over the years Westland's population has gradually expanded to the east, and Campbell's attendance area, once the city itself, is now the westernmost section, adjacent to an industrial complex, two railroad lines and the port facility and divided by a freeway. But to residents the neighborhood is still "Old Town Westland" a title confirmed by scattered "O.T.W." graffitti.

Figure 1-1. School Attendance Areas With Ethnic/Racial Pupil Proportions, 1977



Long time residents believe the neighborhood became predominantly Mexican American as early as the 1930's. Census data is of little help in confirming this belief. The Hispanic minority in Westland remains relatively "invisible" until the 1970 census. The 1930 census in Westland counted native white, foreign born white, Negro and "other races." Foreign born white by country of birth were listed only for cities of 10,000 or more and a count of Mexicans was made only in cities of 25,000 or more. The 1940 census changed the classification of Mexicans from "other races" to "white." Out of Westland's population of 10,344, 392 foreign born whites were identified as having been born in a Spanish-speaking country. "Spanish Surname" was added to the 1950 census. Approximately 10 percent of Westland's population were in that category. Mexican and Mexican Americans appear in the 1960 census as part of "foreign stock" -- a combination of foreign-born and native population of foreign or mixed parentage. The count of foreign stock from Mexico was 2,497. With this semantic shift the Hispanic percentage appears to have dropped in ten years from 10 percent to less than eight percent. The 1970 census grouped "persons of Spanish language" and "other persons of Spanish surname." On the basis of a 15 percent sample, Westland's Hispanic population was estimated to be 11,393 or about 26 percent. That same year the school district used "Spanish surname" in obtaining racial and ethnic enrollment distributions. Thirty-eight percent of Westland's pupils were in that category. By 1977 47 percent of the school district's pupil population was "Hispanic"; 31 percent White, 7 percent Black, 15 percent Asian or Pacific Isle, and American or Alaskan less than one percent. By 1977, as Figure 1-1 indicates, "Spanish origin" pupils are a majority in four of the nine schools and a plurality in the remaining five schools.[2]

Public reaction to the display of "O.T.W." and its contemporary use, particularly by youth, as a symbol of ethnic identity and solidarity has tended to obscure its historical meaning. For elderly residents Old Town Westland has existed as long as they can remember.

Renata Chavira, age 67, was born in Mexico in 1914. Shortly before her birth her father, an army lieutenant, was killed in fighting between army troops and Pancho Villa's revolutionary forces. Her mother became ill and Renata was cared for by her godparents for two years. After recovery her mother could find little work and could not obtain a pension from the federal government. To pay off the widows and decrease their number in Mexico City the government offered them free transportation to another area (paga de marcha). Mother and daughter went to live with Renata's grandparents in a small border community east of Tijuana. Her grandfather held appointment (by the military) as the chief community administrator (jefe politico). Four years later, in 1920, he became ill, resigned his office, and the family immigrated to Westland. Mrs. Chavira has lived in the same house for sixty years, the one her grandfather purchased in 1921. She describes those early years.

> This house we got was empty and everybody, you know, was wondering why it was empty. Well, the house belonged to a family named Schmidt. They were German and at the time people were prejudiced against the Germans. So the house was empty. People didn't want to rent it. My grandfather didn't care and the owner, Mrs. Schmidt, was the best person you ever met....

When we came to this place there was a mixture of people. There were different nationalities, not only Mexicans. I don't know if they were English, Dutch or whatever but they were what we considered Anglos. At the time most people in Westland were Anglo. Then later, before 1930 I think, a lot more Mexicans moved in. Some came from New Mexico. They worked for the railroad there making railroad ties. When that factory closed down they came here to do the same thing. And many of them lived in boxcars. There was a store there, a railroad store and to hold their job people had to buy there.....

As time went the neighborhood became more Mexican and more Mexican American. Many of the Anglos moved. They sold out. A lot of them moved because their families moved. The Mexican colony became bigger. They formed different organizations and there were a lot of celebrations. They would celebrate the 16th of September, and Cinco de Mayo. They would celebrate the Carnival, Bush Tuesday in February and weddings and birthdays. They had dances upstairs at the old city hall. I remember as a little girl going there with my mother and grandmother to dances and functions.....

When I was ready to go to school there were two schools, the Sixteenth Street School and the Sixth Avenue School. I went to the Sixteenth Street School. It was a two story affair. When you would start there they would size you up, to see what you looked like. If you looked pretty good and clean and maybe your mother and father or whoever took you were also presentable they

took you in. But if you looked kind of dirty and you didn't size up too good, well, then the teacher who was there -- she was also principal -- would send you to Sixth Avenue. Now some of the Mexican people who were here at the time they would demand that their children be sent to the Sixth Avenue because everybody spoke Spanish. You couldn't speak Spanish at Sixteenth Street and the teacher was very strict. So you were supposed to know English to go to that school or they must have felt you could learn it easily. I began to learn English Saturday mornings at the Catholic Church but when I started there in the third grade I didn't know much. They gave me a girl who was kind of like a tutor and she took me around. I guess I got in partly because my mother always dressed me in white for school. I was spotless then. But most Mexican parents wanted to send their children to Sixth Avenue and they'd ask my parents why they sent me to the other school.

Mrs. Chavira then describes the continuing evolution of Old Town Westland into a Mexican American neighborhood -- the movement of Anglos and some of the more prosperous Mexican Americans into new subdivisions to the east, apartment buildings once occupied by Anglo families now rented by Mexican Americans, the steady intrusion of commercial enterprise and small industry, the splintering of the neighborhood by the freeway. The transition was not marked, she says, by any unusual tension or strife but in recent decades two issues in particular have provoked concerted public action, a city plan for rezoning the neighborhood to eliminate residential use and

bilingual education. The former came to a climax in the 1950's (and as the present city development plan indicates has not been finally resolved). She describes the fight over the proposed zone change.

> We had two recalls in the 1950's, one after the other. There were two mayors who were pushing through zone changes that would make all this commercial. The city was going to borrow a lot of money and just buy out everybody. Well, what they were offered for our homes was almost nothing. And then, you see, the land would be resold to these companies and they would start to make a profit. That was all why the people went against it.
>
> It wasn't easy. When we were involved -- my husband and I were involved -- we tried to tell the people, go with us to city council. Tell them you object and why. Not many went. But when they came knocking at the door that was different. The city manager they had was a woman and she actually went down to the houses and she would tell them, "Oh, Senora, su casa no sirve. Es la pena. Vamonos." You know she talked broken Spanish. And she said, "Oh, no sirve. Yo le doy 500 dolares." She went around all over this side, door-to-door. And she got all the people roused up. And the next thing you know...well it was a wonder they didn't hurt her. Because that was something the city fathers at that time didn't understand. See, a lot of people that were living here at that time had run out of Mexico because of land reforms. Their land was taken or they lost it on account

of taxes. So they came over here and bought property and then they were told they were going to run them out of their homes again and they would remember what had happened to them back in Mexico.

Well we organized and we got a lot of help. In fact, the money that was to run the recall, pay for printing and so on came from nothing but Anglos. There were Anglos living over here who were peeved too. They were going to have their houses condemned. The recalls weren't successful but they shelved the ordinances.

Like Mrs. Chavira, the families of Mr. and Mrs. Aguilar settled in Westland in the early 1920's. Mr. Aguilar was born in Durango, Mexico in 1907; his wife, in Guadalajara in 1911. Both of their families fled the Mexican Revolution and crossed the border into Texas. Mr. Aguilar says he was one of the original wetbacks having been carried across the Rio Grande on his father's shoulders. At the time legal entry cost one cent. Both families moved on to California and the Los Angeles area and later worked their way south to Westland. Mrs. Aguilar has lived in their present home since 1923. Like Mrs. Chavira, the Aquilars remember that the population changed in the late 1920's with the influx of Mexican American railroad workers from New Mexico and the continuing movement of Mexican workers from the south to work in the lemon groves.

Mrs. Aguilar: We used to call the people [from New Mexico] "manitos". They are a close-knit people, like a big family, all these people. If one of them dies, they all know about it, and they all attend -- usually they are all Catholic so they all attend church. You knew that this person was from

New Mexico because you see all these other people. And they spoke a little different than we did. They had different words for different things.

Mr. Aguilar: They were called "hermanitos" -- "manitos" you call them. Well, that's what the word stems from, "hermanitos," verdad?

Mr. Aguilar did not attend school in Westland; Mrs. Aguilar did, the Sixteenth Street School because she had begun to speak English. She remembers the same differences between that school and the Sixth Avenue School -- and the teacher who was so strict with them. The couple talks about the events and developments of the past few decades.

Question: How has this neighborhood related to the city as a whole? How well represented has it been?

Mrs. Aguilar: It really hasn't you know. If you're talking about councilmen from here, we haven't. But when they tried to step on our toes -- at one time they wanted to do away with residences -- the whole community joined in, not just Mexicans. The people from the east joined and helped us win.

Question: Do you find the people coming to Westland from Mexico any different from those who came when you did?

Mr. Aguilar: I find a lot of them more aggressive than I was when I came across. When I came across here, my dad and mother, we thought that anybody in political office was intelligent. They can do no wrong. I mean the government you know. In other words we were very humble people. Some

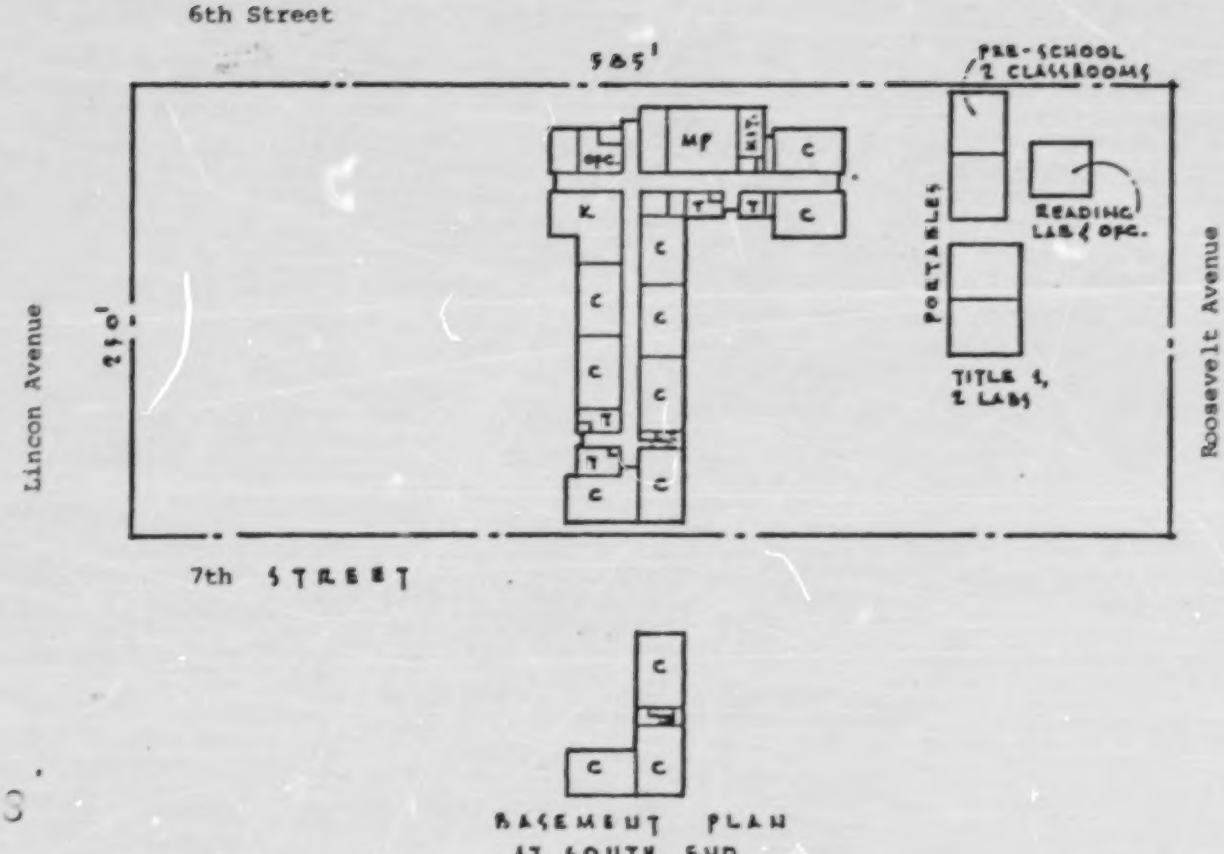
> of these people that come across now, they are modernized. They have a lot of American ideas. And when they come across here they want to carry out those ideas. They are more aggressive. They have more push to them than I did.

The significance within the community of Old Town Westland as a neighborhood focus of Hispanic heritage and ethnic identity has diminished as the Hispanic population has increased in other residential areas of the community and as social and economic change has eroded neighborhood cohesiveness. Ethnic celebrations are now sponsored and organized by city-wide groups. Hispanic participation in the governance of the community (city council, school board) is city-wide in representation. Hence within Old Town Westland the traditional role of recognizing and reinforcing ethnic heritage shifts from the neighborhood to the school. Old Town Westland becomes a force because it is an attendance area.

The School

In spite of the freeway and commercial development Campbell School asserts a spatial and visual dominance over the surrounding neighborhood. Approaching from the west, from original Old Town Westland or from off the freeway, one moves down through an underpass and up along neighborhood homes. At the first intersection the school and its spacious playground come into view. There is in this view a sense of "plaza." St. Peter's Catholic Church faces the school from across the street to the west.[3] Homes line the street to the north and south. Small businesses, to the east, crowd up against the school grounds. The approximately three and one-half acre school site is long and rectangular (see Figure 1-2) and recently has been enlarged by a municipal mini-park built adjacent to the southeast corner of the grounds.

Figure 2: Campbell School Site Plan



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The building is concrete block construction with a stucco veneer. As the site plan shows it is L-shaped with the base of the L facing W. 6th Street. In this part of the building are offices and teacher's lounge, the auditorium/ cafeteria and two classrooms. The remaining 11 classrooms are in the vertical part of the L which extends back to the north boundary of the grounds and which, by virtue of the slope it is built on, becomes a two story structure with three classrooms in the basement. Portable rooms include two pre-school classrooms, the library, a bilingual curriculum materials center, a reading lab and several rooms for remedial instruction activities. Behind the building to the east and south is the playground area for the primary grades. After years of neglect the school is now kept in good condition. Exterior and interior are regularly painted, wood floors have been refurbished, new lighting installed -- and separate restrooms for the faculty added.

Faculty and Staff

Campbell has 14 teachers (excluding the preschool and learning disability classes) 13 of whom are female. Gene Stinson who teaches the fifth grade Spanish component is the lone male. He jokes about what an invaluable "token" he is -- male, black, raised in a Mexican American barrio, bilingual. The teachers are a relatively young group -- average age in the early 30's. Among the 13 female teachers seven are Mexican American and bilingual. Three were born in Mexico and attended Mexican schools in the early grades of elementary school. Almost all the Mexican American teachers report negative personal experiences (embarrassment and punishment) associated with Spanish language usage in U.S. schools. Julia Seda who was raised by her Mexican grandmother, says she was punished at school for speaking Spanish and at home for speaking English.

One of the six female Anglo teachers, Beth Maynard, is also bilingual. In 1978 she completed requirements for the California Bilingual/Bicultural Teaching Specialist credential, the second teacher on the faculty to obtain one. Gene Stinson was the first, in 1975. Spanish was the undergraduate major of a majority of Campbell's bilingual teachers. Within the faculty as a whole elementary education was the most prevalent undergraduate major. Teaching experience ranges from one to 15 years. The average is seven years -- and six at Campbell. The first grade English component teacher, Betty Langer, began teaching at Campbell in 1963, five years before the bilingual program was initiated. The other teachers have joined the faculty since 1968.

When the bilingual program was started teachers opposed to the program transferred out of the school or (in two cases) retired. For the district

administration and incumbent principals recruitment of teachers to the school has never been a problem. Those joining the faculty since 1968 were attracted specifically to the program, (especially applicants with bilingual competence) or to the school. As the program matured, the school--and the esprit de corps of the faculty--was more and more on display and Campbell's reputation as a good place to teach was enhanced.

Teachers take pride in the school and in the bilingual program as a major accomplishment. As the following statements indicate, most of them believe in the value of a bilingual program and like the school:

> Julia Seda (first grade Spanish component teacher in her sixth year at Campbell): It's a nice place to teach. When I came here I didn't know much about bilingual programs. I had had 12 units at a state university but the courses weren't very advanced. So it was sink or swim, trial and error. From the start there was team teaching. I liked that and it worked well -- keeping the language separate with each teacher a model for one language. The program has come a long way and teachers, not administrators have been paving the way. We had problems at first though. Parents were impatient and didn't think it would work. And when some children were bused in we had a large number with learning problems because other schools and teachers used the program as an excuse to get rid of problems.
>
> Judith Lawrence (third grade English component teacher in her first year at Campbell): I taught five years in other Westland schools. When I came back after my last leave of absence to have a baby I was sent to Campbell. I hadn't heard much about the school but

attended a Christmas program and came to feel it was a tight knit group -- in a positive sense..... It's a nice stable school too- not as many "key" kids. There is always an aunt or a grandmother to take care of them..... As to the program I think the pupils are not getting enough English. They hide behind Spanish, even some who are proficient in English..... It's not especially hard for me to teach in this program, that is as someone who only knows a little Spanish. I'm tempted to speak it but then think I'd better not so that the kids are forced to speak English to me. There is a lot of Spanish spoken in the teacher's lounge. Too much for me. They know some of us can't understand it very well. Maybe there is a message there. Anyway it's not as relaxing.

Gene Stinson (fifth grade Spanish component teacher in his ninth year at Campbell): It's a very good program but it wasn't before Fred Whitman became principal. The previous principal was uptight trying to impress parents and the district and didn't do a good job. He wasn't popular with the faculty. The past few years it has picked up a lot - bilingual classes at all grade levels, more bilingual teachers, and more non-Mexican Americans learning Spanish. I think they all should. I'm opposed to monolingual classes--like the one Arlene Jackson has.

Betty Langer (first grade English component teacher in her fifteenth year at Campbell): Before we had a bilingual program I was teaching ESL the first half hour each morning. I was for the bilingual program when it started and thought it was a good idea that people who didn't like it transferred to another school. I give it my full support but there are a few things that could be improved. I'm for pullout (taking

children out of class to work on oral language development) because classes are too noisy and children do not learn as well. I also think there should be an English only class for the lower grades and that children need more English. One problem is that too many of the aides are not really bilingual but more Spanish dominant. So Spanish dominant pupils can too easily speak only Spanish.

In general when teachers differ it is about organizational aspects -- the best use of oral language development aides, the amount of time Spanish dominant children spend in English instruction and language practice, the necessity for English-only classes. Such organizational questions are perceived by teachers as having consequences not only for program effectiveness but also for professional role, interpersonal relations and ethnic identity.

The reputation of the school was further enhanced by the appointment and leadership of the present principal, a Mexican American named Fred Whitman. In 1976, at age 27, he was promoted from his position as fourth grade teacher at Campbell. His promotion was the second administrative change that year in which the School Board broke with traditional appointment criteria in order to increase the representation of (bilingual) Mexican Americans in the district administration. The first change was the appointment of Dr. Manuel Zuniga as Deputy Superintendent. The Board conducted an extensive search rather than fill the position from "within" as was customary. Zuniga held an administrative position in a western state department of education. As Fred Whitman indicates, his own appointment violated the practice of appointment according to seniority:

> The tradition in this district is that the "super" takes care of his family. Very seldom do you have a principal who is hired from outside. They use their own people and the

> custom has always been that a person who has held an administrative credential the longest will be next in line. That happened up until two years ago and then things began to change. The Board decided that somehow they were going to hire a bilingual principal. That went against past practice. We're not going by the rules anymore. Superintendent Elison took a lot of flack over it.

Fred had just completed requirements for the credential. There were other candidates ahead of him, vice principals, teachers with experience as summer school principals, directors of special district programs. One loser threatened a civil suit against the district for violating established practice but the suit was dropped. Fred said that in the early months of his job the "alienation and resentment" of his colleagues were pronounced.

Fred's parents were born in Mexico and in their youth migrated across the eastern part of the California-Mexican border. They met and later married in Mexicali. His father was a truck driver and decided to move west to an urban area to find better work. They settled in Westland when Fred was in the fifth grade. After completing high school Fred enrolled in the nearby state university with a major in geography and Spanish. In his sophomore year he signed up for part-time work as a teacher's aide. The teacher was working with limited English speaking pupils and gave Fred a chance to teach them. As a result he changed his major to elementary education and graduated in 1970. He started in Westland as a summer school teacher and then was employed to teach the 3/4 grade class at Campbell. At the end of the first year he was released - due to bad luck. The district suffered a decline in enrollment and had to release 17 of the 20 newly hired teachers. A lottery was used to select the

three who stayed. Fred was among the losers. He found a teaching position in an adjoining district. After six weeks Westland tried to hire him back as a bilingual resource teacher but he couldn't obtain a release. The next year he returned to Campbell at the same grade level and also began working on an administrative credential. His faculty colleagues say he is a good teacher---well organized, stern, fair, understanding--and they believe his appointment was good for the school and the bilingual program. Fred is the third principal appointed since the school has had the bilingual program. The first, Robert Stevens, was bilingual but after 4 years had to resign for health reasons. Stevens' successor was neither bilingual nor Mexican American. Relationships with parents deteriorated and when the principal asked for a transfer Fred was appointed.

In addition to teachers and principal there are other adults in the school who present differing models of ethnic identity and bilingual-bicultural adaptation. Martha Cuñeo, the community aide, and Norma Sevilla, the school secretary are Mexican American and bilingual. All instructional aides in the Spanish component classes are Mexican American and to varying degrees bilingual.[4] Two of the instructional aides in the English component classes are also Mexican American, and one of them is bilingual. One instructional aide is Filipino. Four are Anglo. The two reading specialists and the part-time speech therapists are Anglo. The part-time school psychologist is Mexican American and bilingual. The full-time librarian and the part-time nurse are Filipino. Their aides are Mexican American and bilingual. The oral language development aides are Mexican American and again to varying degrees bilingual. The head custodian is Filipino. His assistant is Anglo. The head

of the cafeteria staff is Mexican American. Her co-workers are Anglo. The noon supervisors are Mexican American. The pre-school and learning disability teachers are Anglo. Their aides are with one exception Mexican American.

Parents

In education and occupation Campbell parents are by traditional criteria below middle-class status. Seventy-five percent have completed no more than the eighth grade. Many stopped after six years in Mexican schools. According to the 1970 census median years of school completed for the Campbell neighborhood is 8.8 and for the entire community 10.3. Occupation of husband is typically semi-skilled or unskilled -- cannery worker, construction, dishwasher, gardener, pipe fitter, dock worker, truck driver, painter. The census data lists equipment operators as the most frequently designated type of occupation, followed in order by service workers, craftsmen, and clerical. The mean family income in 1970 was $6,833 -- almost $2000 less than the community mean. Over fifty percent of wives report their occupation as housewife; 20 percent as clerical (mainly school aides of various types, i.e., instructional, noon supervision, community.) Estimates of parental occupational status provided by teachers for the California Assessment Program (CAP) are in line with census and interview data. Teachers are asked to classify parent occupation according to the following categories:

1 = unknown, unskilled, welfare

2 = semi-skilled, skilled

3 = semi-professional, professional, executive

Campbell's "school value" reported under "socio-economic index" is 1.65 or below the semi-skilled category.

The school district compiles the most current ethnic/racial profile of the neighborhood. After parents register their children at Campbell they are asked for information on ethnic identity and language dominance. The

questionnaire is a "Home Language Survey." Racial/ethnic proportions among Campbell pupils are derived from parental responses to the following check-list about the "racial or ethnic background" of their children:

_____ Black (Black, Negro, Afro-American, African descent)

_____ Asian (Asian American, Japanese, Chinese or Korean)

_____ Spanish origin (Chicano, Mexican, Mexican American, Spanish descent)

_____ Philipino (Philipino American, Philipino descent)

_____ White (White, Anglo, Pakistani, Indo European)

_____ Decline to answer

Most Campbell parents check the "Spanish origin" category. They have close ties to Mexico. Typically all but one member of the immediate family—husband, wife, and both sets of parents—were born in Mexico.

Slightly more husbands than wives were born in the United States. Almost half of the families maintain continuing contacts with Mexico through weekly or bimonthly trips across the border to shop or visit relatives. Among the small number of parents who checked the "white" category are several who were born and raised in Mexico and whose children are Spanish dominant. In terms of the research by Clark, Kaufmann, and Pierce (1976) these parents choose to present themselves as more anglicized than "ethnic."

Approximately 20% of Campbell parents classify themselves as Mexican, another 20% as Mexican American, and 50% state they do not care whether they are referred to as Mexican or Mexican Americans.[5] Dissatisfaction with the term, Chicano, is frequently expressed:

"It is not a nice word; it's used for lower class Mexicans."

"Sounds kind of vulgar."

"I don't feel insulted if I am called Chicana, but I prefer Mexican and want my children to be referred to as Mexican American."

"If I were called Chicana I would use the experience to judge the person who used the term on me. It is a name used for us in these times. Mexican American is used by those who are not too political-minded."

In general when Mexican American parents talk about the ethnic identity of their children they relate it to language learning and bilingual competence. As one parent said:

> The bilingual program is valuable because you learn about your own heritage and you can't learn about your culture without knowing the language.

The few Anglo parents in the attendance area talk about bilingual competence as useful in adapting to neighborhood diversity. In the words of one of them:

> You should know the language of the people you live in the midst of.

Most Campbell parents (including Anglos, Blacks, and Filipinos) express strong support for the bilingual program.[5] The school's standing has improved dramatically over the past ten years. When the program was initiated in 1968 the school building was in a state of deterioration, playground facilities were poor, and parents felt the school's location in a Mexican American neighborhood would prevent any change in the school's fortunes. Now, ten years later, the building has been renovated, the playground greatly improved, an adjacent mini-park developed, and the school itself has a statewide reputation for the quality of its program. Also,

parents perceive their children having an experience in the school much different from their own. The point is most vividly illustrated in this interview with a bilingual Mexican American parent:

Q. What was it like to go to school at Campbell when there was no bilingual program?

A. We weren't allowed to speak Spanish and were often punished if we did. It got to be embarrassing to be Mexican American.

Q. What is your feeling about the program today?

A. La salvación para los latinos.

The value this parent places on Campbell's bilingual program has its genesis in his schooling experience as a member of an ethnic minority in an Anglo dominated society. The expectations he now has for schooling at Campbell reflect his judgment about what kind of education is functional in a world in which biculturalism is for him a continuing reality.

Pupils

In September 1977 405 pupils were enrolled at Campbell.[7] 355 (87%) were of Spanish origin, 41 (10%) were Anglo, 5 (1%) were Black, and 4 (1%) Filipino. The school has always had a high proportion of Hispanic children.[8] Over the past decade that proportion has with the exception of a period in the early 1970's been steadily increasing -- from 81 percent in 1967 to 91 percent in 1979. Among the 355 Hispanic pupils approximately 48 percent were at the beginning of the year classified as either limited English speaking (LES) or non-English speaking (NES). The presence of this group of pupils in the school represents the basic statistic underlying the program. Their progress in academic achievement and English language competence is used as the salient (and most accessible) measure of program success.

The question faculty and administration are pressed to answer is, does the program work? Does a child's education proceed as rapidly and as effectively and is as much learned when the program is organized to promote the maintenance of two languages? Answers come from diverse sources and in both quantitative and qualitative form -- testing, parental attitudes, teacher assessment and records, achievement in junior high. The last mentioned source is instructive for what it tells us about the complexity of assessing program effectiveness. There has been no systematic tracking of Campbell graduates,[9] but informal, anecdotal records of progress are kept as teachers maintain contact with families and encounter former pupils who frequently return to the school to pick up a sibling, use the playground, or visit. There is among teachers and parents the belief that the dropout rate is too high and that Campbell is graduating too many students who have not learned

fast enough to be able to move successfully into and through a junior high where the bilingual program is minimal. The abrupt change in the scope of the bilingual curriculum which Campbell graduates experience and the effect that change has on the progress of those students who have not attained bilingual fluency in the first six years of schooling, represent still another contextual factor to account for in assessing the efficacy of Campbell's program.

The focus of this research is on description and explication of how the program works rather than, in an evaluative sense, on how well it works. Thus far in this chapter I have presented data on the neighborhood, parents, and faculty and I turn now to pupils. One may think of the pupil profiles which follow as one of several identities which the school has. The bilingual/bicultural program gives the school its most meaningful and most prominent identity as an innovative, equal-access program. By shifting one's perspective, as one might turn a prism, from program to pupil characteristics and achievement levels other identities with important consequences emerge. As we shall see in Chapter V, for example, the school because of its racial/ethnic distribution is defined as ethnically segregated which results, it is contended by the state, in "educational harm and deprivation."

When the school sends out the following letter it presents itself as an implementing agent for federal and state funded remedial programs:

WESTLAND SCHOOL DISTRICT

To the Parents of _____:

The Federal and State Compensatory Education Programs of the Westland School District are offering special assistance for children who will benefit from extra help in reading and/or mathematics.

Your child has been selected to receive special help. He/she will meet regularly with his/her teacher and/or instructional aide for this help.

Your child has been identified under the program indicated below:

____ AB 1329	State Program for Bilingual Education
____ Title VII:	Federal Program for Bilingual Education
____ E.S.L.:	English as a Second Language (District funded)
____ SB 90:	State Program for underachieving children
____ SB 1302	State Program for Early Childhood Education - (Grades K-3)
____ Miller Unruh:	State Program for correction and prevention of reading disabilities (Grades K-3)
____ Title 1:	Federal Program for underachieving children

In the school year 1977-78 Campbell had 249 pupils eligible for and participating in one or more of these special programs. Class proportions of participants ranged from a low of 39 percent in the fifth grade to a high of 75 percent in kindergarten. These special programs generated $193,042 additional monies for Campbell in 1977-78. That represents

about a 100 percent increase in Campbell's basic operating budget. Table 1-2 provides a breakdown of funding by special programs.

Table 1-2. Special Program Funding, Campbell School, 1977-78

Funding	Funding level amount		
	School budget	Centralized services	Total school resources
4. School improvement program implementation grant	$	$	$
5. Miller-Unruh	11,640		11,640
6. State bilingual education (AB 2284 of 1972)	54,463	1,196	55,659
7. State bilingual education (AB 1329 of 1976)			
8. State preschool program	34,638	2,677	37,315
9. AB 551			
10. Educationally disadvantaged youth	34,238	4,912	39,150
11. ESEA, Title I, Part A	43,264	6,014	49,278
12. ESEA, Title IV-B			
13. ESEA, Title IV-C			
14. Totals	178,243	14,799	193,042

Over 80 percent of these monies are expended on salaries -- mainly for various instructional aides. The rest is allocated to curricular materials. Eligibility for special program funding is a function of pupil achievement levels and socio-economic characteristics. Through district surveys/questionnaires and state-wide testing programs, categories of data are generated the interrelationships of which effect not only the amount of supplementary monies received but also the organization of discrete aspects of the bilingual program and ultimately the rationalization of academic results.

In brief Campbell's pupils are part of two complex and overlapping classification and sorting systems. One focuses on bilingual competence and is primarily internal in its organizational implications. It will be described in Chapter III. A second, described here, focuses on achievement and is embedded in a context that is more external and evaluative. Data presented represent the kind of profiles assembled as pupils enter and move through the school and which are typically employed to establish funding eligibility and to make quantitative assessments of program progress. As I have them organized these profiles cover language dominance, family income, school entry readiness, and data from the California Assessment Program (CAP) and the Comprehensive Test of Basic Skills (CTBS). Of all the data collected on pupil characteristics and academic achievement CTBS scores are most vulnerable to broad interpretations and questionable generalizations about program success. The evaluation study of bilingual education programs by the American Institutes of Research (Danoff, 1978) is illustrative of that point. The study assessed the impact of fourth and fifth year Title VII projects and compared them with non-Title VII bilingual projects. The period between pre-and post-testing was five months. Students tested were aggregated without regard to differential bilingual education program treatment. Gray (1978) faults the study for the inappropriate use of the CTBS to assess the English reading ability of limited English speakers and monolingual Spanish speakers.[10] He states that the study "avoids the reality that bilingual programs develop and exist in districts that differ markedly in terms of variability of linguistic needs, demographics, availability of well-trained teachers, adequate curricula, district commitment, and level of politicization of constitutencies" (1978, p. 1). The profiles which follow present one aspect of a reality of Campbell's bilingual program.

1. Language dominance

A pupil enters the classification system when his/her parents are asked to respond to the Home Language Assessment Survey. The first part of the Survey requests information on racial/ethnic background. That part and the results have already been reported. The second part seeks information on home language usage. Questions (see below) are asked in English, Spanish and Tagalog, one of the national languages of the Philippines.[11]

WESTLAND SCHOOL DISTRICT
HOME LANGUAGE ASSESSMENT SURVEY
ESTUDIO DE ESTIMACION DEL LENGUAJE EN EL HOGAR
PAGTASA AT PAGSUSURI NG WIKA NG TAHANAN

_____
School
Escuela
Paaralan

Please answer the following questions.
Favor de contestar las siguientes preguntas.
Pakisuyong sagutin ang mga sumusunod na tanong.

1. Name of student

	Last	First	Middle		Grade	Birth Date
Nombre del alumno	Apellido	Primero	Segundo		Grado	Fecha de Nacimiento
Pangalan ng mag-aaral	Apelyido	Una	Apelyido ng Ina		Baytang	Kapanganakan

2. Which Language did your son or daughter learn when he or she first began to talk? _____
Cuando su hijo ó hija empezó a hablar - ¿Cuál idioma aprendió primero?
Aling wika ang natutuhan ng iyong anak simula ng siya ay matutong magsalita?

3. What language does your son or daughter most frequently use with adults in the home? _____
¿Cuál idioma usa principalmente su hijo ó hija cuando conversa con adultos de su casa?
Anong wika ang pinaka-malimit na sinasalita ng iyong anak sa mga nakatatandang kasama sa tahanan?

4. Which language is used most frequently by the adults in your home? _____
¿Cuál idioma usan los adultos de su casa con más frecuencia cuando conversan entre ellos mismos?
Aling wika ang pinaka-malimit gamitin ng mga nakatatanda sa iyong tahanan?

5. What Language do you use most frequently to speak to your son or daughter? _____
¿Cuál idioma usa Ud. con más frecuencia cuando habla con su hijo ó hija?
Anong wika ang pinaka-malimit mong sinasalita sa iyong anak?

6. Name the Language or Languages spoken in your home. _____
¿Cuál(es) idioma ó idiomas se hablan en su casa?
Itala mo ang wika o mga wika na sinasalita niyo sa iyong tahanan.

Assessment of language dominance is based not only on the survey but also on the results of an observation assessment instrument (the pupil is shown a picture and asked questions about it) and a language assessment scales test. These instruments are administered in the early days of the new school year by one of the districts' two bilingual/bicultural education resource

teachers. The recommendation of the classroom teacher is also utilized in making final placement. Table 1-3 indicates Campbell has the highest percentage of LES/NES pupils (48%) among the district schools and ranks second in number of LES/NES pupils (193).[12]

Table 1-3: District LES/NES Ranking, 1977-78

Number Ranking	LES/NES	%	Percent Ranking
1. Cleveland	258	41.8	1. Campbell
2. Campbell	193	47.9	2. Cleveland
3. Elmwood	113	12.7	3. James Allen
4. Johnson	93	17.4	4. Johnson
5. Southern	85	14.0	5. Lakeside
6. Lakeside	73	15.5	6. Southern
7. James Allen	71	22.8	7. Elmwood
8. Pacific	68	10.7	8. Pacific
9. Harrison	17	3.9	9. Harrison

Non-English speaking (NES) and limited-English speaking (LES) pupils are assigned to Spanish component sections, English only pupils to the English component sections, and bilingual pupils are distributed between both components unless a parent expresses a preference. If the parents of a Spanish dominant child refuse to let him/her enter the bilingual program - and hence be assigned to a Spanish component section - the school by virtue of state law must create a bilingual individualized learning plan (BILP) which must include English as a second language instruction (ESL) in the child's primary language. English only pupils whose parents do not want them in the bilingual program also must have an individualized learning plan.

2. Family income, reading scores, and funding

Patterns of language dominance among pupils are a major determinant of special (bilingual) program funding. Family income is a second determinant. Campbell's final allocation is a function of both absolute measure of income level and of the school's rank in relationship to other district schools with regard to both income level and reading scores.

Measures of family income derive from welfare data and from family self-reports. The district receives from the county department of education a printout (furnished originally by the county welfare office) of addresses (but not names) of all children from homes receiving Aid to Families with Dependent Children (AFDC). Table 1-4 indicates 87 or 21.5% of Campbell's pupils are classified as AFDC. Percent and number ranking of all schools on their AFDC count -- and district averages -- are determined. "Target schools" -- those eligible for funding based only on the AFDC calculation are all schools ranking above the district average. Based on rankings made in early 1978 Campbell does not qualify for what is essentially compensatory funding, either federal (Title I) or state (SB90).

Table 1-4

AFDC Count & Target School Ranking

School	Enrollment	#AFDC	%AFDC
Cleveland	638	196	30.7
Elmwood	884	307	34.7
Harrison	442	38	8.6
Campbell	404	87	21.5
Lakeside	464	189	40.7
Johnson	519	109	21.0
Southern	596	118	19.8
James Allen	310	71	22.9
Pacific	635	192	30.2
District	4,892	1,307 (+94) Av.=145.22	26.7

% Rank	No. Rank
1. Lakeside	1. Elmwood
2. Elmwood	2. Cleveland
3. Cleveland	3. Pacific
4. Pacific	4. Lakeside
District Av.=26.7%	District Av.= 145.22
5. James Allen	5. Southern
6. Campbell	6. Johnson
7. Johnson	7. Campbell
8. Southern	8. James Allen
9. Harrison	9. Harrison

But Campbell, like all the schools in the district, is a Title I school. It qualifies because over 25 percent of its enrollment (approximately 81 percent in 1977) are eligible for and are receiving free or reduced price school lunches. To apply for such meals families are required to fill out a questionnaire reporting total family income (weekly, monthly, or yearly). If the family income is more than amounts listed in the California Eligibility Scale (see Table 1-5), application under special hardship conditions may be made in which unusual medical, shelter, special education or disaster expenses are reported.

Table 1-5

CALIFORNIA ELIGIBILITY SCALE FOR FREE MEALS, FREE MILK AND REDUCED PRICE MEALS (1977)

Children from families with a normal gross income from all sources at or below the following levels shall be eligible for free meals, free milk and reduced-price meals.

FREE MEALS AND FREE MILK				REDUCED-PRICE MEALS			
FAMILY SIZE	MONTHLY GROSS INCOME			FAMILY SIZE	MONTHLY GROSS INCOME		
1*	$ 0	to	$ 128	1*	$ 129	to	$ 510
2	0	to	430	2	431	to	671
3	0	to	533	3	534	to	831
4	0	to	634	4	635	to	990
5	0	to	728	5	729	to	1,136
6	0	to	822	6	823	to	1,282
7	0	to	908	7	909	to	1,415
8	0	to	993	8	994	to	1,548
9	0	to	1,070	9	1,071	to	1,669
10	0	to	1,147	10	1,148	to	1,789
11	0	to	1,223	11	1,224	to	1,909
12	0	to	1,299	12	1,300	to	2,026
Add $76 for each additional family member.				Add $118 for each additional family member.			

FREE MEALS AND FREE MILK				REDUCED-PRICE MEALS			
FAMILY SIZE	ANNUAL GROSS INCOME**			FAMILY SIZE	ANNUAL GROSS INCOME**		
1*	$ 3,930			1*	$ 3,931	to	$ 6,123
2	5,160			2	5,161	to	8,050
3	6,390			3	6,391	to	9,970
4	7,610			4	7,611	to	11,880
5	8,740			5	8,471	to	13,630
6	9,860			6	9,861	to	15,380
7	10,890			7	10,891	to	16,980
8	11,910			8	11,911	to	18,580
9	12,840			9	12,841	to	20,030
10	13,760			10	13,761	to	21,470
11	14,680			11	14,681	to	22,890
12	15,590			12	15,591	to	24,310
Add $910 for each additional family member.				Add $1,420 for each additional family member.			

* Family size of one means a pupil who is his sole support. A foster child may be considered a family of one.

** The School Food Authority may use the annual income scale for families whose income is seasonal or otherwise fluctuates.

Federal legislation stipulates that local and state compensatory education funding should be utilized before Title I federal funds are requested. The distribution of funds from the state compensatory program, Educational Disadvantaged Youth (EDY or SB90) is a function of school ranking on reading test scores (quartile numbers obtained from the California Test of Basic Skills).

In 1977, 62 percent of Campbell's pupils were in the first quartile, a percentage which as Table 1-6 indicates places Campbell second among district schools.

Table 1-6 EDY Ranking of District Schools by Percentage and Number

Number Ranking		Q_1	Enrollment	%	Percent Ranking
1.	Elmwood	399	887	45.0	1. Cleveland
2.	Cleveland	389	617	63.0	2. Campbell
3.	Pacific	253	637	39.7	3. Lakeside
4.	Campbell	249	403	61.8	4. James Allen
5.	Southern	234	606	38.6	5. Elmwood
6.	Lakeside	218	470	46.4	6. Pacific
7.	Johnson	200	534	37.5	7. Southern
8.	James Allen	141	311	45.3	8. Johnson
9.	Harrison	134	435	30.8	9. Harrison

The difference between the percentage of AFDC families at Campbell (22%) and those eligible for free or reduced lunches (81%) is a function of complex factors—institutional, cultural, economic, political. In the first place eligibility for AFDC classification is more stringent; one has to be poorer, on the average by about $1000 per family of four. Secondly the process of being declared eligible for AFDC is more complicated -- and potentially threatening for those whose residential status (or that of relatives living in the same house) is temporary or illegal. Applicants are more formally processed and by a governmental agency. Not being able to speak English can add to the uncertainty of the encounter. In contrast eligiblity for free lunches requires only the signature of the parent declaring the family income -- and the application is administered by the school.

3. School entry readiness

Each year in October the Entry Level Test, part of the California Assessment Program, is administered to pupils in grade one. The test is designed to measure reading readiness, not achievement, and to identify differences among schools rather than among pupils. The results are, the test cautions, to be used only as a "descriptor of the aggregate of reading readiness skills with which your first grade pupils entered school." A comparison of Campbell, Westland and state scores, based on 1977 testing is shown in the following table:

Table 1-7. Entry Level Test Results, Campbell School, California Assessment Program, Fall 1977

	School	District	Median SCHOOL in State
Number of Pupils	74	970	
Mean Test Score	19.31	23.84	27.97
State Percentile Rank	1ST	7TH	50TH
Percent of Pupils Scoring Below State First Quartile (Q1)	76 %	44 %	
Percent of Pupils Scoring Below State Second Quartile (Q2)	90 %	69 %	

Campbell's state percentile rank is at the bottom, the first percentile. The school district percentile rank is seventh; the rank of the highest school in the district is 32nd. Over the past four years Campbell's rank has never been higher than the fifth percentile.

The Director of Special Services' analysis of Entry Level Test Data for the period 1977-77 is somber. Jack Newsome points out that each year there has been a decline in the mean test score for pupils in the district (Campbell's rose in 1975 and then dropped the next two years) while there has been an increase in the mean test scores of the state as a whole. Percentile rank

changes reflecting the above data show the same pattern. The percent of pupils scoring below Q1 is as discouraging. Over the four years there is at the district level a 10 percent increase (34 to 44) in the proportion of pupils scoring below Q1. Campbell's increase goes from 59% to 76% in the same period.

English language fluency characteristics are used by the Director to explain in part the dominant trend in mean scores. The Entry Level Test obtains from teachers estimates of language fluency for each pupil. As the following table shows only 44% of first graders are fluent in English compared with 75% for the school district and 87% for the state.

Table 1-8. Language Fluency Percentages, Campbell School, California Assessment Program, Fall 1977

Percent of Pupils, by Category	School	District	State
Sex			
Boys	47 %	53 %	52 %
Girls	53 %	47 %	48 %
English Language Fluency			
English Only	24 %	51 %	76 %
Fluent English + Other Language	20 %	24 %	11 %
Limited English + Other Language	53 %	22 %	10 %
Non-English Speaking	3 %	2 %	3 %
Other Language Spoken			
Chinese	0 %	0 %	1 %
Japanese	0 %	0 %	0 %
Philippine Dialects	1 %	5 %	1 %
Portuguese	1 %	0 %	0 %
Spanish	73 %	41 %	18 %
Other	0 %	1 %	2 %

The Entry Level Test is administered in English. It is the first part of a continuous measurement program (K-6) in which the results are confounded by

the percentage of LES/NES pupils. 56 percent of Campbell's first graders are limited or non-English speaking -- a percentage that has remained stable (varying by only one or two percentage points) over the four year period.

The lack of English proficiency is not therefore a convincing factor in explaining the decline in the already low readiness scores. Other factors which the district says need to be taken into account are "home stability, social awareness, socio-economic level, and basic oral language development."

In this section I have delineated those pupil characteristics which in their totality are intended to represent the starting point for the Campbell program. In the next two sections I will present test data which provide comparative measures and rankings of school and pupil progress within and across grades.

4. California Assessment Program Data

> "Far too often, judgments about the quality of education in a particular school or school district, or even an entire state, are made without objective information. A school can develop a reputation as a 'good school' for what are undoubtedly not very sound reasons: It has an attractive building, it has a new building; local real estate salespersons say it is a good school; it has introduced the latest innovative programs; it spends the most money per pupil; it has a large percent of its graduates going on to college..... None [of the above reasons] addresses the fundamental question: 'At what level are students achieving after x years of schooling?' (California Department of Education 1977, p. 1)

The California Assessment program is designed to measure achievement in the areas of reading, written expression, spelling, and mathematics in grades two, three, six, and twelve. Each school district is given a rank order according to the average scores of students in the district and the comparative data are presented in a school district profile. In addition to comparing average student achievement in the district to the average achievement in all other districts in the state, the program analysis provides a comparison (comparison score band) with other districts with similar background characteristics. Background characteristics identified as being accounted for in developing the comparison score band include results of the Entry Level Test (explained in the last section), a socio-economic index, the AFDC percentage,

the LES/NES percentage, and pupil mobility. The Assessment Program Guide cautions a reader that "only some of the information that is required for the total evaluation process is provided in the district profile."

The data provided by the program are test scores (percent correct), score distribution (by quartile), background factor values, and the comparison score band. Campbell's profile is presented in four tables.

Table 1-9 reports Reading Test Scores for the second and third grades for 1977-78. The (average) percent of correct responses by Campbell pupils is 46.8, almost 12 percent below the district average.[13]

Table 1-9. School and District Reading Test Scores
Grades Two and Three, California Assessment Program, 1977-78

The Percent Correct score is the percentage of correct responses made by your pupils on the test items. The test scores are shown for your district and your school. Essential information for interpreting these scores will be found in the Interpretive Supplement.

THE PERCENT CORRECT SCORES HAVE BEEN CALCULATED TWO WAYS THIS YEAR: EXCLUDING AND INCLUDING NON-ENGLISH-SPEAKING (NES) PUPILS. (1) THE SCORES ON THE RIGHT EXCLUDE NES PUPILS (WHO ARE NOT TESTED).

Grade	Year	Percent Correct	
		District	School
2	76-77 77-78	58.1	46.8
3	76-77 77-78	76.9	65.2

* (2) THE SCORES IN THIS SECTION INCLUDE THE FIXED SCORE
* ASSIGNED TO NES PUPILS AS IN PREVIOUS YEARS.

*	76-77	77-78		76-77	77-78
*GRADE 2	39.3	46.4	GRADE 3	58.1	61.0

In Table 1-10, the quartile distribution of scores throughout the state, 63 percent of Campbell's second graders and 59 percent of third graders are below the first quartile -- in each case approximately 20 percentage points higher than the district's.

Table 1-10. School and District Pupil Score Distribution Grades Two and Three, California Assessment Program, 1977-78

This section of the report enables you to compare the distribution of your pupil scores with the state distribution of pupil scores. The three quartile points (Q_1, Q_2, Q_3) divide the state distribution of pupil scores into four equal-size groups, or quarters. The percentage of your pupils scoring in each quarter is reported for grades 2 and 3.

FOR EXAMPLE, 4% OF YOUR SECOND GRADERS HAD SCORES ABOVE THE THIRD QUARTILE COMPARED WITH 25% IN THE STATE.

Grade	Unit	Percentage of Pupils in Each Quarter of the State Pupil Distribution			
		Below Q_1	Between Q_1 and Q_2	Between Q_2 and Q_3	Above Q_3
2	District	44 %	26 %	21 %	9 %
	School	63 %	17 %	16 %	4 %
3	District	37 %	28 %	20 %	15 %
	School	59 %	30 %	7 %	4 %

In Table 1-11, comparison score band, Campbell is provided data in which to place the reading test, the 46.8 percent correct score. The school finds itself in the middle range (39.5 - 58.5) of scores by schools with similar background characteristics.

Table 1-11. Comparison Score Bands for Campbell's Type of School, 1976-1977 and 1977-78, California Assessment Program, 1977-78

Grade	Year	Comparison Score Band (Expressed as Percent Correct)
2	1976-77	43.7-56.4
	1977-78	39.5-58.5
3	1976-77	59.1-71.1
	1977-78	41.4-85.8

The Comparison Score Band is a range of numbers developed uniquely for your school or district against which your actual score can be compared. The band represents Percent Correct scores of schools or districts which, statistically, are like yours. The band is calculated for your school or district by using the values of the background factors listed under the Background Factor Summary.

FOR EXAMPLE, AT GRADE 2, THE COMPARISON SCORE BAND, INDICATING TYPICAL PERFORMANCE OF SCHOOLS LIKE YOURS, RANGES FROM 39.5 TO 58.5 PERCENT CORRECT.

Those background factor values are reported in Table 1-12.

Table 1-12. School and District Background Factor Summary, 1976-77 and 1977-78, California Assessment Program, 1977-78

Background Factor	Year	District Value	School Value
Entry Level Test	1976-77	24.67	21.04
	1977-78	23.84	19.31
Socioeconomic Index	1976-77	1.66	1.66
	1977-78	1.66	1.62
Percent AFDC	1976-77	25.3	18.6
	1977-78	26.5	21.5
Percent LES/NES Pupils	1976-77	18.4	68.4
	1977-78	19.6	51.3
Pupil Mobility	1976-77	43.8	25.0
	1977-78	49.54	40.44

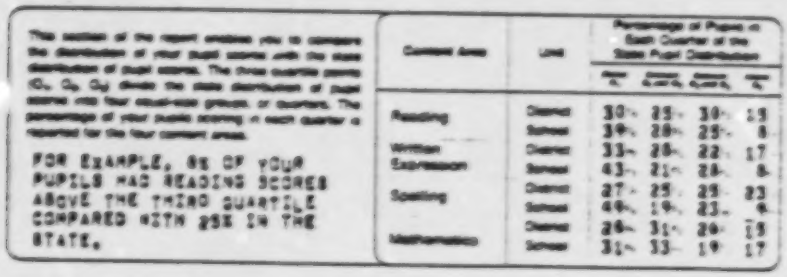
The background factor values reported here were used in the calculation of your Comparison Score Bands. The Interpretive Supplement provides sources and definitions of the background factors.

FOR EXAMPLE, YOUR SCHOOL'S AFDC COUNT FOR 1977-78 WAS 21.5 PERCENT.

* PUPIL MOBILITY WAS NOT USED IN THE CALCULATION OF THE COMPARISON SCORE BANDS FOR 1977-78.

Entry level test scores, socio-economic index, percent AFDC and percent LES/NES pupils have already been reported. The pupil mobility value is the percent of pupils who had not been continuously enrolled in Campbell since kindergarten or first grade -- as reported by teachers. The value was not used in determining the comparison score band because its relationship to district test scores was found to be too low. Nevertheless in the past five years the mobility pattern at Campbell -- the movement of pupils in and out of the school -- has not been as frequent as in most other district schools. In the same year the distribution of sixth grade pupil scores in reading, written expression, spelling, and mathematics show a modest upward movement when comparing Table 1-13 below with Table 1-10.

Table 1-13. School and District Pupil Score Distributions, Sixth Grade, California Assessment Program, 1977-78



This section of the report enables you to compare the distribution of your pupil scores with the state distribution of pupil scores. The three quartile points (Q1, Q2, Q3) divide the state distribution of pupil scores into four equal-size groups, or quarters. The percentage of your pupils scoring in each quarter is reported for the four content areas.

FOR EXAMPLE, 8% OF YOUR PUPILS HAD READING SCORES ABOVE THE THIRD QUARTILE COMPARED WITH 25% IN THE STATE.

Content Area	Level	Percentage of Pupils in Each Quarter of the State Pupil Distribution			
		Lower Q1	Second Quarter	Third Quarter	Upper Q3
Reading	District	30%	25%	30%	15
	School	39%	28%	25%	8
Written Expression	District	33%	28%	22%	17
	School	43%	21%	28%	8
Spelling	District	27%	25%	25%	23
	School	49%	19%	23%	9
Mathematics	District	26%	31%	29%	15
	School	31%	33%	19%	17

5. Comprehensive Test of Basic Skills

Each October and May the Comprehensive Test of Basic Skills (CTBS) is administered to grade 1-6. The areas tested are reading, language, and math, and scores are rendered in terms of grade equivalent.[14] CTBS mean grade level scores for the district and for Campbell over the period 1968-1979 are provided in the following tables. Table 1-14 provides information on the tests used during this period at each grade level.

Table 1-14 Achievement Tests Used by Grade in the Period, 1968-1979

Grade 2	1968-70	Stanford Achievement Test (Reading)
	1971-73	Cooperative Primary Reading Test
	1974-79	Comprehensive Tests of Basic Skills Level C, Form S
Grade 3	1968-71	Stanford Achievement Test (Reading)
	1972-73	Cooperative Primary Reading Test
	1974-78	Comprehensive Tests of Basic Skills Level 1, Form S
	1975-79	Comprehensive Tests of Basic Skills Level 1, Forms S and T
Grade 4	1968-71	Stanford Achievement Test
	1972-74	Comprehensive Tests of Basic Skills Level 2, Form S
	1974-75	Comprehensive Tests of Basic Skills Level 1, Form S
	1975-79	Comprehensive Tests of Basic Skills Level 1, Forms S and T
Grades 5-6	1968-71	Stanford Achievement Test
	1972-74	Comprehensive Tests of Basic Skills Level 2, Form S
	1974-75	Comprehensive Tests of Basic Skills Level 2, Form S
	1975-79	Comprehensive Tests of Basic Skills Level 2, Form T

Table 1-15 provides mean grade level achievement scores for the district in the period 1968-1979.

Table 1-15. District Mean Grade Level Achievement Scores, 1968-1979

	Grade 1			Grade 2			Grade 3			Grade 4			Grade 5			Grade 6		
	Rdg.	Lang.	Arith.	Rdg.	Lang.	Arith.	Rdg.	Lang.	Arith.	Rdg.	Lang.	Arith.	Rdg.	Lang.	Arith.	Rdg.	Lang.	Arith.
1968	1.9			2.4			3.1			4.0	4.1	4.3	5.4	4.9	5.2	6.0	5.9	6.6
1969	1.6			2.6			3.2			4.2	4.0	4.2	5.0	4.9	5.2	6.0	5.8	6.-
1970	1.8			2.7			3.4			4.4	4.3	4.3	5.0	4.7	5.1	5.9	5.9	6.4
1971	1.8			2.8			3.3			4.1	3.9	4.3	5.1	4.8	5.2	5.8	5.6	6.0
1972	1.8			2.9			3.8			4.6	4.6	4.7	5.4	5.5	5.6	6.0	6.2	6.2
1973	1.8			2.7			3.5			4.3	4.3	4.7	5.2	5.3	5.1	5.8	5.9	6.1
1974	1.7	1.9	1.7	2.2	2.4	2.7	3.4	3.1	3.4	4.4	4.1	4.3	4.9	4.9	5.0	5.6	5.7	5.9
1975	1.7	1.5	1.8	2.2	2.4	2.9	3.6	3.2	3.4	4.0	3.7	4.1	4.9	4.9	5.2	5.7	5.8	6.1
1976	1.9	1.4	1.7	2.5	2.5	2.7	3.5	3.7	3.7	4.3	5.0	4.7	5.2	5.4	5.0	6.4	6.8	7.0
1977	1.5	1.4	1.7	2.4	2.5	2.8	3.6	4.0	3.8	4.1	4.6	4.8	5.4	5.9	6.0	6.2	6.8	7.0
1978	1.5	1.4	1.7	2.5	2.6	2.8	3.5	3.8	3.9	4.1	4.7	4.7	5.2	5.5	5.8	6.5	7.1	7.2
1979				2.5	2.5	2.7	3.4	3.8	3.8	4.3	4.5	4.8	5.2	5.6	5.8	6.4	6.9	7.2

Table 1-16 provides mean grade level achievement scores for Campbell in the same period.

Table 1-16. Campbell Mean Grade Level Achievement Scores, 1968-1979

	Grade 1			Grade 2			Grade 3			Grade 4			Grade 5			Grade 6		
	Rdg.	Lang.	Arith.	Rdg.	Lang.	Arith.	Rdg.	Lang.	Arith.	Rdg.	Lang.	Arith.	Rdg.	Lang.	Arith.	Rdg.	Lang.	Arith.
1968	1.4			2.5			2.9			3.7	3.5	3.9	4.5	4.5	4.7	4.8	4.7	5.2
1969	1.3			2.7			2.9			3.5	3.3	3.7	4.3	4.0	4.1	4.6	4.6	5.0
1970	1.5			2.6			3.0			4.2	4.2	4.1	4.2	3.5	4.4	5.2	5.0	5.5
1971	1.7			2.4			3.3			3.8	3.5	4.5	4.8	4.0	4.5	5.0	3.9	5.1
1972	1.7			2.8			3.5			4.3	4.8	4.9	4.8	5.8	5.5	4.8	5.1	5.4
1973	1.7			2.0			3.1			4.3	4.3	5.1	4.6	4.9	4.9	4.3	4.7	5.-
1974	1.5	.9	2.1	1.6	.6	1.9	2.2	2.1	2.7	3.9	3.6	4.4	4.3	4.5	4.8	5.1	5.8	6.5
1975	1.4	0.4	1.6	2.0	2.0	2.6	2.1	2.3	2.8	3.2	2.7	3.9	4.4	4.4	5.2	5.4	5.4	6.1
1976	0.9	0.9	1.3	1.8	1.4	2.3	2.9	2.4	3.0	3.6	3.6	4.1	4.3	4.1	6.1	6.1	6.7	7.1
1977	1.3	.8	1.4	1.9	1.5	2.5	2.3	2.9	3.6	3.7	3.7	4.6	4.6	4.8	6.4	5.1	5.4	6.8
1978	1.0	.8	1.4	1.2	2.2	2.7	2.7	3.0	3.8	3.3	3.8	4.3	4.6	4.6	5.3	5.3	5.5	6.7
1979				2.0	1.9	2.4	3.0	3.8	4.3	3.6	3.7	4.6	4.3	4.3	5.6	5.5	6.2	6.5

In the district's evaluation report of Campbell's program (see Appendix) an interpretative summary is provided of CTBS data comparing Campbell and the district in 1977 and 1978. That summary follows:

a. Campbell School has generally achieved below district average in reading and language.

b. The growth rate achieved by students at Campbell School and the district average is nearly the same.

That is, if the district average months of growth per year was eight months Campbell School's average months of growth would be approximately the same.

c. A comparison done in May of 1977 indicated that English dominant students at Campbell School in grade six who had been in the Westland School District for all of their school experience achieved at a significantly lower level than the same population district-wide. At all other grade levels, the difference was not statistically significant.

The same comparison of Spanish dominant students indicated that Campbell School students achieved significantly lower in reading and language at grade three, and while Campbell students achieved lower (on a small number sample) at the other grades, the difference was not statistically significant.

In mathematics Campbell students were at or above district average, although the difference was not statistically significant.

d. A district-wide comparison of the achievement of students in the Bilingual Program English Component based on May, 1979 results

indicate that in general for reading and language scores, students at Campbell School achieved below the district average at grades three through six, while in math Campbell achievement was at or above district average except in grade six.

In no case was the difference statistically significant.

Placing CTBS data in context -- assessing the effects of such variables or factors as pupil characteristics (entry level skills, mobility or time in program), teaching skills (including bilingualism, linguistic diagnosis), specific program treatment (within as well as across schools) -- is not an activity for which the district has (or makes) much time. The Director of Special Services is alone responsible for preparing reports based on testing program printouts. Toward the end of the first ten years of Campbell's program, 1968-1978, and as bilingual programs were added in other district schools, that office began to prepare reports and analyses which looked at CTBS scores by special populations or characteristics within and across schools, i.e., language dominance, mobility, bilingual program by component. In 1979 for the first time the district used a Spanish Language Achievement Test (CTBS - Espanol). It had become available for purchase the previous year. But, even as this significant refinement of the testing program is added, the Director, Jack Newsome, has had to shift the major focus of his office activities to student classification and data acquisition required by Public Law 94-142.

The chapters which follow present data on the history, organization and content of Campbell's program. In the concluding chapter I will return to the data presented here—and their implications for explicating the function and quality of Campbell's program.

Notes, Chapter I

1. Demographic data in this section are taken from County and City Data Book 1977: A Statistical Abstract Supplement. U.S. Department of Commerce Bureau of the Census, Superintendent of Documents, U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C. 20402. Stock No. 003-024-01464-5. Data are also obtained from the 1930, 1940, 1950, 1960, and 1970 census reports.
2. Based on a head of household racial/ethnic census in 1975, Westland is ranked as having the highest percentage of "Latinos" in the metropolitan area.
3. Through the years the church has served social and educational as well as religious functions. It has long held masses in both Spanish and English and is a center for a variety of neighborhood activities and services including day-care, English language instruction and various adult education programs.
4. They are not all equally fluent in English.
5. For purposes of in-depth interviews a ten percent stratified random sample of families was drawn--weighed to include larger numbers of parents of first and sixth grade pupils--in order to be able to obtain more data on attitudes relating to school entry and exit. Data on parental attitudes about ethnic identity and the bilingual program come from these interviews, from other interviews with officers of parental advisory committees and with the school faculty and staff, and from the results of a bilingual program evaluation questionnaire sent out to parents by the school.

6. Six of approximately 250 families stipulated that their children were not to be in the program. They wanted them to receive instruction only in English. Four of these families were Mexican American; two were Anglo. Neither the interviews nor the responses (Spanish or English) to the evaluation questionnaire produced evidence of major opposition to the program. Approximately 10 percent of parents expressed some dissatisfaction, mainly with the academic progress of their children.

7. The figure changes during the year due to new students and transfers out. Total enrollment reported in this chapter in connection with assessments of student background, language dominance, and academic achievement will vary since such measures are taken at different times during the school year.

8. As indicated in the early part of this chapter the Home Language Survey is the instrument used to obtain data on racial and ethnic distribution in the schools. The survey uses the term "Spanish origin" -- which in the table reporting the results by school becomes "Hispanic." In surveys between 1967-1978 "Spanish surname," and "Spanish" have also been used.

9. A longitudinal study of the 1977-78 sixth grade class is underway.

10. The study was sponsored by the United States Office of Education. Its generally negative findings about the effectiveness of bilingual programs produced a spate of critiques of the AIR study. In addition to Gray see, for example, Cárdenas (1978), Arias et. al. (1977), and O'Malley (1978). For a more general review of the effectiveness of bilingual education see Troike (1978). See also a comprehensive survey

and analysis of research and developments in bilingual education by the Center for Applied Linguistics (1977). Problems associated with evaluating bilingual programs are also addressed by Cohen, Bruck and Rodríques-Brown (1979). Angoff (1971:523-525) and Allen and Yen (1979: 157-160) raise serious questions about the usefulness of grade equivalent scales which the CTBS provides. The relationship between the content of test items and what pupils are taught in class is also to be questioned. I am indebted to Skip Kifer for a critique of the above aspects of CTBS.

11. Approximately 10 percent of Westland's pupil population are classified as Filipino; one percent (4) at Campbell. When the district's ethnic survey was begun in 1967 Filipinos were counted among "other non-white." In 1973 they became "Islanders" and finally in 1977, "Filipino." It was in 1977 that the district, acting on the Lau Guidelines, began the Home Language Survey, with the Spanish and Tagalog translations. The Tagalog translation is more a response to the Guidelines than to language usage among Filipino parents and children. In Westland English is the dominant language for all but a few families. The 1977 Home Language Survey records at Campbell 15 pupils as "English, Some Tagalog" and two as "Tagalog."

12. Tables presented in this chapter were prepared by Jack Newsome, Director of Special Services or were taken from CAP and CTBS printouts.

13. Previous program reports provided percent correct figures at the state level too. They were eliminated in 1977-78. Another change was in the language dominance category in the Background Factor Survey. Percent Bilingual was changed to Percent LES/NES - to reflect what is considered to be the most significant language dominance measure.

14. Percentile ranking is used for grades one and two as grade level equivalents are not available for the subtests at these grade levels. The grade level equivalent scale divides the year into 10 parts, each representing one month of schooling. Thus a scale of 3.5 indicates the estimated performance 5 months after the beginning of the third grade. Since the test is given in May a score of approximately 3.9 would mean a pupil is "up to grade level," is "doing the work."

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Chapter II The Bilingual Program: History, Mandates, and Objectives

When Westland administrators talk business their discourse is regularly punctuated with shorthand reference to legislation, pupil classification and reporting systems, curriculum materials: Title 7, MOSS, 2284, Pyramid, 1329, Title I, Comp. Ed., Q1, ESL, SSL, ILP's, AB65, LES/NES, SB90, Sedgwick, H-200.[1] Each reference is essentially a claim on how the district and Campbell should best proceed with a specific aspect of schooling.

The proliferation of federal/state intervention in education is widespread, a national phenomenon which Wise characterizes as "legislated learning."

> ....educational policy is more and more determined by the states, by the federal government, and by the courts, rather than by the schools and colleges themselves. State legislatures, demanding accountability, impose upon the schools managerial accounting schemes adopted from industry. State boards of education, concerned about diffuse educational goals, endeavor to reduce these goals to the basic skills alone. State courts require that schools become "thorough and efficient" as mandated by their state constitutions.
>
> At the federal level, Congress, concerned about unemployment figures, calls for career education. The executive branch, responding to concern for equality, promulgates affirmative action procedures and goals. The federal courts demand that schools observe due process with regard to individuals. .....All these influences are designed to rationalize -- to tighten or standardize -- the operation of educational institutions (Wise, 1979:IX-X).

The single most significant intervention in bilingual education is the 1974 Supreme Court Decision, Lau v. Nichols which ruled that a school district's failure to provide non-English speaking students with a program to deal with their language needs was in violation of Title VI of the 1964 Civil Rights Act.[2] Campbell's program predates by five years the Lau decision, and its genesis lies in interacting factors involving individuals, groups, agencies, legislation and the courts.

History

The bilingual program at Campbell began in 1969 as part of a demonstration project involving three elementary school districts and one high school district, and funded by the U.S. Office of Education under Title VII (Bilingual Education) of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act. The experimental program's chief advocate in the district was James Allen, at the time Director of Special Programs, a young man neither Mexican American nor bilingual but a native of Westland and sympathetic to the needs of the Mexican American population. In 1969 Campbell also had a bilingual principal, Robert Stevens, who wanted the program at the school and who was well liked by faculty and parents. The incumbent superintendent, Miles Carson, was not interested. He was by reputation not friendly toward minority groups nor special programs for them. Over the years the Campbell building had been allowed to deteriorate and there was an unsightly, smelly slough adjacent to the playground. Carson did nothing to change those conditions. When the prospect of a bilingual program developed and was hard to avoid, he was content to assign and limit it to Campbell.

A pilot program was initiated in three schools. Each school was assigned different grade levels. It fell to Campbell to start with grades two and three. Difficulties associated with beginning in the middle grades were such that the following year the school shifted program development activities to kindergarten and first grade. Each year thereafter a grade was added until the school had its first six year graduates in 1976.

From the outset the school had a problem with the imbalance between Spanish dominant and English dominant children. The proportions clearly did not meet the guidelines of Title VII that "students in each class must be approximately fifty percent English dominant speaking and fifty percent

Spanish dominant speaking." To correct the imbalance the Board established an open enrollment policy at Campbell and publicized the program at other district schools. Open enrollment dropped the proportion of Hispanic children at Campbell only five percent, from 85 percent in 1971 to 80 percent in 1974 when approximately 100 children were being bused in from other attendance areas. The ethnic imbalance did not change markedly because many of the children bused in were themselves Hispanic. After 1974 the imbalance increased again as a second district school began a bilingual program, and children returned to that attendance area.

The politics of school board membership and a nascent scandal involving the alleged misuse of funds by the then school district business manager were additional factors affecting both the development of bilingual education at Campbell and other district schools -- and the Superintendent's tenure in office. 1969 was also the year in which the first Mexican American was elected to the Westland School Board. Tomas Merino, a young community college professor, had first run -- and lost in 1967. When he tried again and won in 1969 he defeated an incumbent who had been appointed by Carson to fill a vacancy and who was running for the first time. Interim appointments had been a practice through which Carson had sought to maintain a friendly Board. His mode of operation was to persuade civic organization cohorts with good public standing to run and, if elected, to resign early in their term so that a Carson appointment could be made. It was one such individual whom Merino defeated. Two other Hispanics were elected to the Board in 1972. During the next year the Business Manager, appointed by Carson, was indicted for misuse of funds and forced to resign. Carson was not implicated but the case did not help his standing with the Board. When his contract came up for renewal in 1974, the Board granted him a two year extension and made clear there would be no further renewal.

The present Superintendent, Vincent Elison, was appointed in 1976. He had begun teaching in Westland in 1950 and was named Deputy Superintendent in 1959. When Carson fell out of favor with the Board, Elison had been Deputy long enough to be the logical successor, since the Board was accustomed to promoting from within. Six months before the end of Carson's term they named Elison as his successor and at the same time instructed him to begin a search outside the district for his successor as Deputy Superintendent. They excluded Carson from the search process altogether. They also wanted candidates who were bilingual and who would advance bilingual programs in other district schools. "The successful candidate didn't have to be a Chicano," one Board member said, "but it probably helped." Manuel Zuniga, an official in a western state department of instruction, was appointed. During the approximately four years that Hispanics held a majority, Board action did not appear to be fragmented along ethnic lines.[3] Crucial votes on policies and appointments were unanimous. Hispanics lost the majority when one of them was disqualified for seeking re-election due to a change in residence. A young female Filipino won the election to fill the vacancy.

Mandates

at Campbell,

Almost ten years after the open enrollment policy was first established the district is setting out again to attract pupils to the school (see Chapter 5). The "threat" the second time is not the loss of federal funds for a bilingual-bicultural program but the imminent possibility of a court ordered plan desegregating Campbell. It is clear that court decisions, legislation, and implementing guidelines set school districts to work reclassifying and counting pupils, establishing new policies, and devising new programs and that the life of individual schools is affected by such action. It is less clear to what degree these changes affect fundamental social and cultural aspects of schooling. To provide a framework for a later examination of that question I will in this chapter briefly identify those mandates which relate to the structure and development of Campbell's bilingual program.

The Bilingual Education Act of 1968 was essentially permissive legislation in which funds were provided for the development over a five year period of demonstration projects. The original Senate Bill concerned itself only with Spanish-speaking pupils and, as introduced by Texas Senator Ralph Yarborough, argued that the peculiar historical circumstances of the incorporation of Spanish-speaking people into American society (conquest rather than voluntary migration) justified special consideration.[4] Counter proposals and final action produced a bill which considered the needs of all non-English speaking children.

The original bill was drawn to accomplish three essential purposes: 1) increase English language skills 2) maintain and increase mother tongue skills, and 3) support the cultural heritage of the student. No constraints were set on the type of bilingual program models to be demon-

strated, i.e., language maintenance v. transition. The law made no provision for the participation of English-speaking students in a bilingual program. Testimony at the early hearings included the advocacy of a 50/50 ratio as ideal. But only with the 1978 amendments was a ratio specified (English speaking children not to exceed forty percent) to reduce the possibility of developing in any single program de facto segregation by national origin.

The 1974 amendments to the Act broadened the definition of those included to children of "limited English-speaking ability" and the 1978 amendments changed the law to direct it at individuals with "limited English proficiency." As Leibowitz points out (pp. 17-19) the 1978 amendments expanded the coverage of the Act. Participation in a program was no longer to be based solely on English speech. Criteria for eligibility now included those "who cannot read, write, or understand English at the level appropriate for their age and grade." The new criteria also had the effect of preventing children from being removed from a bilingual program prematurely -- before their English proficiency had expanded beyond speech.

Federal court decisions and regulations followed on the Bilingual Act and foreshadowed Lau v. Nichols. In 1970 the Office of Civil Rights (OCR) issued the following regulation as a step to eliminate discrimination against national origin-minority students:

> Where inability to speak and understand the English language excludes national origin-minority group children from effective participation in the educational program offered by a school district, the districts must take

affirmative steps to rectify the language deficiency in order to open its instructional program to these students.

The then Director of OCR, J. Stanley Pottinger, said in comment on the regulation that "school districts should create a culturally relevant educational approach to assure equal access....and children should not be penalized for culture and linguistic differences, nor should they bear a burden to conform to a school-sanctioned culture by abandoning their own." (Mazon, Ochoa, and Romo, 1976, p. 33)

In 1970 the Supreme Court found in U.S. vs. State of Texas that school districts in Texas failed to provide bilingual/bicultural education for Mexican American students and therefore violated their constitutional rights. The Court mandated statewide bilingual education for students in kindergarten through grade two. In Cisneros v. Corpus Christi (1972) a federal district court found that Mexican American students were an identifiable ethnic group that had not been given equal educational opportunity. The Court ruled that in rectifying this condition instruction in a language other than English could be included. In 1973 in a desegregation case, Keyes vs. Denver a federal district court required the school system to provide bilingual instruction as a part of a desegregation plan.[5]

During the period of these court cases, OCR also began a series of on-site compliance reviews based on a directive requiring school districts to take steps to meet the needs of minority students -- if their proportion in a school exceeded five percent. A consequence of the directive is Westland's yearly survey of minority representation among pupils and staff. As indicated in Figure II-1 the first survey following the directive found in all schools a minority population well above the five percent minimum.

Figure ... Westland School District Civil Rights Survey

(Pre-School - Grade 6)
October 1, 1971

SCHOOL	TOTAL	AMERICAN INDIAN	NEGRO	ORIENTAL	SPANISH SURNAME	OTHER NON-WHITE	OTHER WHITE
CLEVELAND	616		3 .5%	15 2.4%	384 62.3%	56 9.1%	248 40.2%
ELMWOOD	813	4 .4%	13 1.6%	15 1.8%	224 27.5%	193 23.7%	277 34.0%
HARRISON	478		8 1.6%	12 2.5%	136 28.5%	70 14.7%	250 52.3%
JAMES ALLEN	343		10 2.9%	9 2.6%	133 38.7%	21 6.1%	170 49.5%
CAMPBELL	349		3 .8%	5 1.4%	298 85.4%	14 4.0%	29 8.3%
LAKESIDE	424	10 2.3%	3 .7%	11 2.5%	168 39.6%	36 8.4%	196 46.2%
JOHNSON	567		5 .8%	3 .5%	251 44.4%	14 2.4%	294 51.7%
SOUTHERN	539	6 1.1%	15 2.7%	15 2.7%	143 26.5%	48 8.9%	312 57.8%
PACIFIC	641	2 .3%	39 6.0%	35 5.4%	132 20.5%	39 6.0%	394 61.4%
DISTRICT	4,798	22 .4%	166 3.8%	120 2.5%	1,799 37.4%	491 10.2%	2,189 45.6%

The district began a bilingual program at a second school in 1975 but not until 1978 did it initiate bilingual programs in the remaining seven schools.

The Lau decision and implementing guidelines which followed forced the district to plan and implement a district-wide bilingual education program. Lau v. Nichols was a case brought by Chinese public school students against the San Francisco Unified School District in 1970. The issue in question was whether non-English speaking students are accorded equal educational opportunity when instructed in a language they cannot understand. The plaintiffs claimed the lack of programs designed to meet linguistic needs of such students violated both Title VI and the Equal Protection Clause of the Fourteenth Amendment to the Constitution. Federal district and circuit courts ruled (against the plaintiffs) that the uniform use of English does not constitute unlawful discrimination. When the case reached the Supreme Court, the Department of Health, Education and Welfare (HEW) joined in support of the plaintiffs and

argued "its right to place reasonable conditions on the receipt of federal monies." (Teitelbaum and Hiller, 1977, p. 7)

In its decision the court did not mandate a specific program for national origin students with English language problems -- but directed only that affirmative action be taken to solve the problem. However, Congress the same year, and following on the Lau Decision, passed the Equal Education Opportunity Act which extended Lau to all public school districts, not just those receiving federal financial assistance.[6] The Lau Decision was also followed by the Lau Remedies, a set of guidelines developed by the Office of Civil Rights in 1975 to assist districts out of compliance and those who wished to file a plan voluntarily.[7] The guidelines require a district with 20 or more non-English speaking or limited English speaking students to develop and implement a comprehensive plan for bilingual education. The Remedies require adherence to the following conditions:

1. schools must develop a systematic approach to determine those students who are linguistically different;
2. schools must systematically and validly ascertain the language characteristics of their clients;
3. schools must assess the achievement levels of their clients;
4. schools must develop and implement a comprehensive instructional program that matches those identified needs.

The Lau Remedies are essentially recommendations for meeting the requirements of the Lau Decision and the Civil Rights Act. They do not specify the kind of bilingual program which might be developed and do not address specifically teacher and staff qualifications.

While technically not prescriptive, the Lau Remedies require of a school district a plan which can surely be characterized as sophisticated in its organizational and pedagogical implications, as the following provision indicates:

> The second part of a plan must describe the diagnostic/prescriptive measures to be used to identify the nature and extent of each student's educational needs and then prescribe an educational program utilizing the most effective teaching style to satisfy the diagnosed educational needs. The determination of which teaching style(s) are to be used should be based on a careful review of both the cognitive and affective domains and should include an assessment of the responsiveness of students to different types of cognitive learning styles and incentive motivational styles.... (Office of Civil Rights, 1965 and quoted in Cazden and Leggett, 1978)

The state response to the Lau Decision and the Lau Remedies was AB No. 1329, the Chacon-Moscone Bilingual-Bicultural Education Act of 1976, a bill which in far-reaching ways superseded earlier and permissive state legislation on bilingual education (Assembly Bill 2283 of 1972). Among its requirements are the following:

1. Each school district, other than community college districts, will undertake a census of the number of pupils of limited English-speaking ability in the district and report its findings to the Department of Education.
2. Each limited-English-speaking or non-English-speaking pupil enrolled in the California public school system in kindergarten through grade 12 will receive instruction in a language understandable to the pupil which recognizes the pupil's primary language and teaches the pupil English.

3. Whenever the language census indicates that any school of a school district has 10 or more limited English-speaking pupils with the same primary language in the same grade level or 10 or more limited English-speaking pupils with the same primary language in the same age group, in a multigrade or ungraded instructional environment the school district shall offer instruction as specified.
4. The pupils' parent, parents, or guardian will have the right not to have their child or ward enrolled in such an educational program.
5. Limited-English-speaking pupils not enrolled in a specified program will be required to be individually evaluated and receive instructional services in an individual learning program.
6. Each school with more than 20 limited-English-speaking pupils shall establish a school level advisory committee on which parents or guardians or both of limited-English-speaking pupils constitute membership in at least the same percentage as their children and wards represent of the total number of pupils in the school.
7. Each school advisory committee shall be responsible for advising the principal and staff in the development of a detailed master plan for bilingual education for the individual school and submitting the plan to the governing board for consideration for inclusion in the district's master plan.

9. Teachers and teacher aides will be fluent in the primary language of the limited-English-speaking pupils, familiar with the cultural heritage of such pupils and have a professional working knowledge of bilingual teaching methodologies.[8]

In 1964 Title VI of the Civil Rights Act prohibited discrimination on the grounds of race, color, or national origin by recipients of federal financial assistance. In 1976 California Assembly Bill 1329 specified language dominance pupil quotas as determinants of bilingual program development, required membership in school advisory committees to be proportionally representative of parental ethnic/racial classification, and stipulated that instruction was to be carried out by certified bilingual-cross-cultural teachers. Hence in this 12 year period the form and substance of intervention changed from broadly applied judicial norms to specific organizational and programmatic requirements.

Objectives: continuity and change

In 1978 the district issued its third bilingual program handbook, titled Paso Por Paso: Bilingual/Multicultural Curriculum Handbook. The handbook states that by participating in a bilingual/multicultural program students will:

1. preserve and strengthen their self image and sense of dignity through appropriate and meaningful programs;
2. utilize their dominant language as a medium of instruction while at the same time provide developmental instruction in a second language;
3. develop pride in self, school and community;
4. interact positively in a culturally pluralistic society;
5. develop English communication skills to a level comparable with native speakers of English;
6. provide fluent English speakers the opportunity to develop their bilingual skills and to increase their awareness of other cultures;
7. develop incentives to remain in school, succeed and prepare for future undertakings;
8. enrich and deepen mutual appreciation, understanding, and respect for people with differing cultures by building upon the rich multicultural foundations of our society;
9. promote opportunities for active parent and community involvement in the program.

Positive self image, bilingual fluency, respect for cultural diversity, and parental involvement are themes common to the programs described in each of the three handbooks. The most marked change over the decade is the increasing complexity of program structure and administrative procedure which is specified. In two other areas, bilingual fluency for English dominant pupils and the emphasis on biculturalism, there is a moderate revision of original program expectations and rhetoric. The first handbook states that the ultimate goal of the program is "to develop literate bilingual/bicultural students who can function with equal efficiency in two languages in the milieu of two cultures." In a language maintenance program bilingual fluency for Spanish dominant children has both immediate and long-range adaptive consequences -- in schooling, vocational choice, family life, and ethnic heritage. Bilingual fluency for English dominant pupils, particularly those of Anglo background is not perceived, the school has learned, as having the same degree of personal and social value. The third handbook is therefore more moderate in expectations for English dominant pupils and states the objective as providing "fluent English speakers the opportunity to develop their bilingual skills."

Bilingual/bicultural becomes in the third handbook, bilingual/multicultural. The apparent demise of "bicultural" as a secondary descriptor of a bilingual program is a function of complex interacting factors--programmatic, conceptual, political. Multicultural education is one of the four major areas of the school program--along with reading, language, and math--which is described in the school's Comprehensive Program Plan, a document which must be completed and submitted each year to the state department of education. Multicultural activities for a new school year are to be specified by each teacher and subsequently evaluated by a state department sanctioned Monitor and Review Team. Hence when the Campbell faculty chooses multicultural education as a

topical theme for weekly in-service training sessions, as they did for the school year 1977-78, they are not only responding to a program mandate but also, as reflected in interviews and faculty meeting discussions, acting on a shared point of view about the multicultural makeup of Campbell's pupil and parental population. The use of the more inclusive term, multicultural, may also be viewed as an adaptive response to the changing political context of bilingual programs -- as affected by the property tax limitations of Proposition 13 and by the increasing public debate about the usefulness of (maintenance) bilingual programs.

In reviewing the first two chapters of this report the reader may feel that inordinate attention has been given in the first chapter to numbers (socio-economic and assessment data) and in the second to lists (legislation, guidelines, objectives). In their totality these documents present an array of immensely complex tasks for the school to accomplish -- in diagnosis, interpretation, prescription, and application. Hence they are important parts of the environment or context of Campbell's bilingual program. They have real and potential effects on program longevity and organization, and more specifically they instruct us on how people who can affect the program spend (part of) their time on matters relating to it.

Notes, Chapter II

1. Those not identified in Chapter I are: M.O.S.S. (Math Objectives Skills System); Pyramid (a curriculum management system for English, reading, and math); AB65 (California Assembly Bill 65, 1977 which provides for a major finance revision of state funding of school districts and for school improvement programs); 3.3 (code for a state mandated reporting system on multicultural in-service training programs for teachers in districts with a minimum minority student enrollment of 25 percent); Sedgwick (refers to state legislation governing the classification of pupils for purposes of determining assignment to special learning disability classes); H-200 (a curriculum program for ESL classes).
2. Title VI prohibits discrmination on the grounds of race, color, or national origin by recipients of federal financial assistance.
3. Whether or not such development took place is certainly of interest but there is no assumption that it was inevitable. While there was unanimity on the need for a bilingual program, Hispanic Board members themselves differed in the vigor with which they used the Board to advocate a stronger program.
4. This discussion of the Bilingual Education Act draws largely on Leibowitz (1980, pp. 15-42).
5. These are key cases preceding Lau v. Nichols. They are also cited here because in the Westland School District's Final Report and Comprehensive Plan for Bilingual/Bicultural Education (1977) the above cases are identified and used as a framework for discussion of the Lau decision and its implications for district policy.

6. The final volume of a six volume study of education of Mexican Americans by the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights was also issued in 1974. Their findings..."depict an educational system which ignores the language and culture of Mexican American students....and in which classes are usually taught by teachers of a different cultural background whose training leaves them ignorant and insensitive to the students' educational needs." (Toward Quality Education for Mexican Americans, 1974, p. 111).

7. The Lau Remedies are at the heart of the most recent controversey (at this writing) about bilingual education. The proposed Lau Regulations issued by Education Secretary Shirley M. Hufstedler on August 5, 1980 (45 Federal Register 52052) and to be examined in public hearings were intended to clarify the Remedies and transform their authority from guidelines to regulations. On February 2, 1981 the new Education Secretary, Terrell Bell, in a public announcement withdrew the regulations. Hence the Lau Remedies remain the basis for the determination of compliance by OCR. But the U.S. Department of Education is still under court order to publish official regulations (National Clearinghouse for Bilingual Education, 1981).

8. The Chacon-Moscone Bilingual-Bicultural Education Act of 1976 has recently been modified by AB 507, the Bilingual Education Improvement and Reform Act of 1980. AB 507 was worked out in the midst of heated public debate about the value and problems of pushing ahead with bilingual education programs. The legislation emphasizes that the primary purpose of bilingual education is "to teach English as effectively and efficiently as possible." It gives local school district's more latitutde in designing programs and liberalizes provisions for teacher bilingual certification.

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Chapter III. The Bilingual/Bicultural Program: Organization and Process in Classroom and School[1]

Westland School District's "Final Report and Comprehensive Plan for Bilingual/Bicultural Education" (1977) delineates Campbell's language maintenance program and also refers to biculturalism as the "functioning awareness and participation in two cultural systems." In this chapter I will describe the organization and curriculum of Campbell's program and those teaching-learning processes which are typical of classroom life. I will also present observational data on those events and processes through which the faculty formally structures participation in two cultural systems and through which pupils informally work out adaptations.

As preface to program description, I will briefly extend the discussion of biculturalism begun in the Introduction. We may think of biculturalism as having multiple meanings. It is a theoretical perspective on the individual experience within two convergent cultural systems. It is social and (within a school setting) pedagogical process itself through which the two systems and participants work out adaptive interaction. Finally, it is program goal. In this chapter I will be presenting data on biculturalism as social process and program goal. It is in these two areas that individual sensibilities and beliefs relating to the role of schools in reinforcing ethnic and national identity are most volatile. The reader should know that early in the research I came to perceive biculturalism as a relatively unstable social dynamic which metaphorically moved about under its own power, uncontained

whether transformed into behavioral outcomes—or altogether ignored. In brief in a bilingual-bicultural program both the unusual and the ordinary have heightened symbolic meaning. Those decisions and acts by teachers which routinely serve pedagogical or organizational purposes may have further implications for the individual as well as for colleagues and parents.

In the conflict between teacher and parents, described in the Introduction, the protagonists held strong views on how biculturalism should work in the school and what kind of balance, or imbalance, should prevail between ethnic and dominant culture reinforcement. In that conflict the issue was clearly drawn. Normally biculturalism is confounded with such factors as role interests and expectations, legal questions and interpersonal relations. At Campbell the issue of "pullout" is illustrative. The school staff includes four aides for special, small-group work in Spanish or English oral language development (O.L.D.). The aides work with pupils whose rate of progress in a second language warrants additional attention. The aides come into the classroom rather than "pullout" students to work in a special room. At regular times each day one can find them in a corner at a table or on a rug with a small group of children employing various objects or games to ask questions and elicit responses.

Pullout had been a practice at the school prior to 1977-78 but in an early fall faculty meeting the principal and several of the younger more vocal teachers were successful in arguing for its elimination. Pullout had been convenient for the O.L.D. aides. They had permanent teaching sites -- portable rooms where they could keep and organize materials, set up for each group and proceed without the distraction of the regular classroom. Teachers who favored it argued: 1) pullout eliminates one instructional group in classrooms already overloaded with the sounds of group and individualized instruction, 2) it is

not necessary for teachers to observe directly the work of the aides, 3) there is little learning time lost in the movement of pupils from one room to another, 4) the issue of discrimination is a false one: once a group of students is singled out for special attention it makes little difference whether a group gathers at a table in the classroom (when the aide appears) or leaves for another room. But the spatial and social aspects of pullout -- a group of predominantly Mexican American children removed and isolated from the regular classroom for thirty minutes each day were, Fred Whitman felt, in violation of federal and state edict that "it is not permissible to create racially/ethnically isolated or identifiable classes per se to implement programs for target students." The school was reminded of the provision by a state department of education representative on the previous spring's annual evaluation team. The principal also insisted that pullout prevented good communication between aide and teacher, that too much time was lost in room exchange, and that it violated state code requiring direct supervision of non-certificated personnel working with children.

Pullout was eliminated at the start of the school year 1977-78, four months before I began full-time research. In my third visit to Westland, when the school faculty approved the study, I remained to observe in classrooms the first two weeks of school but did not learn at that time what events preceeded the presence of O.L.D. aides in classrooms. But in early interviews and conversations the issue (and the meeting) came up so frequently that pullout seemed to me a critical event. It became a symbol through which incompatible role interests, fundamental values, social, and in this case, legal norms converged, were sorted and ranked by the protagonists and temporarily mediated.

In the ongoing life of the school there are other less consequential but differing interpretations of biculturalism. The morning section of Campbell's kindergarten enrollment recite the Pledge of Allegiance each day in English. The afternoon section alternates, English one day and the following Spanish version the next:

> Yo juro alineza a la bandera de los Estados Unidos de América y a la república que representa. Una nación, bajos dios, indivisible, con liberatad y justicia para todos.[2]

Beth Maynard teaches the afternoon section approximately two-thirds of whom are Spanish dominant children. She believes it is right that the Pledge be learned and recited in one's mother tongue as well as in English. Cathy Schmidt who teaches the morning section of largely English dominant children believes the Pledge should be recited only in English.

Later in the chapter I shall report more data on teacher belief and behavior which relate to biculturalism. I turn now to a description of program organization and implementation.

Organization and Classification:

The Westland School District adopted at Campbell a language maintenance model as opposed to a transitional model where a gradual shift is made to English-only instruction or an immersion model in which all instruction is in English. The District's version of the maintenance model is delineated below:

1. The children's mother tongue is recognized and taught as a first language.
2. One or more of the subject areas, in addition to language, are taught in the children's mother tongue until they have mastered English to a degree that they can learn through it.
3. The children whose mother tongue is English are taught the dominant language of the non-English speaking children.
4. The children are taught the history and cultural heritage reflecting the value systems of the speakers of both languages.
5. Finally, and most important, provision is made to enhance the children's self-image and their legitimate pride in both cultures. (Westland School District, 1977)

As indicated in the Introduction 80% of the instruction in the first grade is in the dominant language; 20% in the second language. By the fourth grade instruction is ideally divided equally between the two languages. Team-teaching (as opposed to self-contained classrooms) is the mode at Campbell; each grade level (excepting the sixth) has both a Spanish component section taught by a

bilingual teacher, and an English component section taught by a teacher for whom bilingual competence is optional. Two of Campbell's English component teachers are bilingual. The sixth grade is divided into two self-contained classes. One is an integral part of the bilingual program and is taught by a bilingual teacher, Rosario Bernal. She prefers a self-contained classroom and believes it affords more effective supervision of language development. The second self-contained classroom is an English-only combined 4/5/6 class (taught by Arlene Jackson) created to serve transfer students with no bilingual background and students whose parents do not want them in a bilingual program, their right under state law.

The following schedules represent the daily activities of both components in each of two grades.

First Grade

Time	Activity	Grouping
9:00-9:15	Opening exercises	Homeroom
9:15-10:00	Reading	Dominant language component
10:00-10:15	Recess	Primary grades
10:15-10:45	Language Arts	Dominant language component
10:45-11:15	Language Arts	Secondary language component
11:15-11:25	Preparation for lunch	Homeroom
11:25-12:00	Lunch	All grades
12:10-12:25	Post-Lunch activities	Homeroom
12:25-1:00	Mathematics	Dominant language component
1:00-1:25	Social studies, etc.	Dominant language component
1:25-1:40	Recess	Primary grades
1:40-2:10	Music, etc.	Homeroom

Fourth Grade

Time	Activity	Grouping
8:30-8:50	Opening exercises, music math	Homeroom
8:50-10:00	Reading	Dominant language component
10:00-10:15	Recess	Intermediate grades
10:15-11:20	Reading	Second language component
11:20-11:30	Preparation for lunch	Homeroom
11:30-12:10	Lunch	All grades
12:10-1:00	Language arts	Dominant/Second Language components (switch every two weeks
1:00-1:30	Physical Education	Homeroom
1:30-2:10	Mathematics	Homeroom

Pupils change classrooms and teachers whenever the "second language component" is designated. In the first grade, for example, between 10:45-11:15 Ms. Seda's Spanish component section exchanges classrooms with Ms. Langer's English component section and each section receives second language instruction in language arts.

The increase in second language instructional time in the fourth grade schedule is reflected in the reading and language arts time assigned to the "Second Language Component."

In the class schedules, Homeroom is designated as a distinct grouping because it is the organizational device used to meet the state requirement that no more than two-thirds of a bilingual class should be limited English-speaking pupils. Table 3-1 shows the language dominance proportions in the first grade homerooms of Ms. Seda and Ms. Langer:

Table 3.1 Language Dominance Proportions in the First Grade Homeroom

Pupils \ Teacher	Seda	Langer
Spanish Component	two-thirds	one-third
English Component	one-third	two-thirds

In the early grades homeroom activities are typically social (story telling, sharing weekend experiences), ceremonial (pledge to the flag), and administrative (taking role, making announcements) in function. By the fourth grade, as the class schedule indicates, the homeroom grouping is also used for formal instruction. Table 3.2 indicates by group the change in the percentage of instructional time from the first to the fourth grade.

Table 3.2 Percentage of instructional time by groups in first and fourth grades

	First Grade	Fourth Grade
Dominant language component	57%	32%
Second language component	13%	31%
Homeroom	30%	37%

The prescription against ethnically isolated classes in a bilingual program makes it mandatory for the school to determine ethnic proportions in instructional groups. In general, funding requirements, judicial guidelines, and the normal sorting practices of schools combine to create complex and overlapping classification systems of language facility and ethnic identity as we have already seen in Chapter 1. The Westland School District's glossary for "agreed upon labels for categorizing students' language development" is the following:

NES - Non-English Speaking

LES - Limited English Speaking

FES - Fluent English Speaking

BI - Bilingual and at or above the district average grade level on CTBS (Reading, Math, Language)

Bi/Lau - Bilingual student achieving below district average grade level on CTBS (Reading, Math, Language)

NSS - Non-Spanish Speaker

LSS - Limited Spanish Speaker

FSS - Fluent Spanish Speaker

CB - Coordinate Bilingual Equivalent scores in Spanish and English and at or above district average on reading, math, and language section of CTBS

LES-A - Limited English Speaking but having the same language level in the other language

FES-A - Fluent English Speaking and equally fluent in another language or bilingual

ESL - English as a second language

SSL - Spanish as a second language

OLD - Oral Language Development in first language with emphasis on communication and concept development

BILP - Bilingual Individual Learning Plan, a plan written for a limited English student. The plan includes activities in ESL and language, reading and math in the student's primary language.

Neither the team-teaching model nor the grouping and placing of pupils based on language dominance is implemented without exceptions. Such exceptions stem from errors in the system (misclassification of language dominance or misdiagnosis of a learning problem), from the inability of the projected program organization to provide a niche for every single pupil whatever the peculiar individual characteristics, from the preferences of parents, or from the choices teachers make.

The exceptions begin in the first grade the first day of school. Although school starts in mid-September, first graders do not begin to change classrooms until early October. The assurance and security which a single classroom and teacher presumably convey to first graders take precedence over the formal implementation of the team-teaching mode. In the first several weeks then homeroom organization is used for the entire day. Two-thirds of Ms. Seda's class are Spanish dominant pupils; one-third are English dominant. To communicate with all her pupils and thereby affect the kind of initial social experience with schooling she deems appropriate, Ms. Seda engages in more language switching than she wants to or will later on when she is in the role of Spanish component teacher. Since the first grade English component teacher, Betty Langer, is not bilingual those Spanish dominant children in her homeroom

depend more on the bilingual instructional aide -- and their bilingual peers -- for help in understanding what is being asked of them. The school attempts to reduce the number of children in this situation by assigning as many bilingual pupils as possible to the Spanish dominant portion of a (monolingual) English component teacher's homeroom. The aide's instructional role becomes even more critical when a Spanish dominant (LES) pupil is assigned to Betty Langer's class because the parents do not want the child in the bilingual program (one case in the first grade during the 1977-78 year).[3] Ana Marquez is in Ms. Langer's class the entire day -- even when the exchange takes place and her class goes to Ms. Seda for thirty minutes of language arts in Spanish.

A quite different classification and reassignment dilemma occurs when a child makes unusual progress in developing bilingual fluency, moving, let us say, in two or three years from an LES category to that of FES-A and who scores well on the CTBS. When a child ceases to be Spanish dominant and is completely bilingual the natural disposition of the school is to transfer him or her into the English component section. It serves the needs of the program -- to have more bilingual children in those sections. It also is recognition for work well done -- and a message to parents of real achievement. But the school and district[4] do not like to make such transfers. Their effect is to diminish the academic strength of Spanish component sections and ostensibly reduce the number of cases which "prove" that a bilingual program does not hold back students.

Curriculum management systems: the dominant mode

The bilingual-bicultural model at Campbell emphasizes developmental placement and individualized instruction. The latter is implemented through the use of curriculum management systems. These are essentially systems of terminal objectives and criterion-references tests to be used with each student, primarily in the areas of reading and math. Management and (behavioral) objectives are concepts widely used by district educators to impose a sense of order and purpose on the processes of schooling, in particular, evaluation. The district has a management team, curriculum handbooks have sections on management procedures and there are curriculum management systems. When the district adopts a set of educational goals they amend to each behavioral objectives (referred to as "goal indicators") which specify in minute detail what is to be achieved. A sample follows:

DISTRICT GOAL#2: The Westland School District accepts the major responsibility to help each student develop skills in reading, writing, speaking and listening.

KINDERGARTEN - The learner will:

1. be able to state which sound is louder, softer, higher or lower, when given two sounds.
2. be able to follow sequentially 3 simple oral directions.
3. verbally express needs.
4. tell one personal experience through sharing.
5. enjoy stories read to him or to the class.
6. choose to look at picture books during free time.
7. recognize that there are different styles of written material (i.e., stories, poems, fact, fiction, fantasy, maps, charts, etc.)

FIRST GRADE - The learner will:

Reading

1. grow .9+ years in reading (+ or - .02 mo.) as measured by the C.T.B.S.
2. enjoy stories read to him or to the class.
3. choose to look at picture books during free time.
4. recognize that there are different styles of written material (i.e., stories, poems, fact, fiction, fantasy, maps, charts, etc.)

Language

5. grow .6+ years in language (+ or - .02) as measured by the C.T.B.S.

Listening

6. be able to follow sequentially 3 oral directions.

Speaking

7. be able to relate one personal experience.
8. be able to respond in a complete sentence when asked a question.
9. be able to ask a question in a complete sentence.

The curriculum systems which the district first adopted and Campbell used contained lengthy lists of terminal objectives, 220 in English/Spanish and 209 in math. The bookkeeping became overwhelming, a committee was appointed to abbreviate the lists, and in the fall of 1977 Campbell teachers were pleased to have lists as short as 125 in English-Spanish and 135 in math. The reading system handbook used at Campbell (and prepared by a committee of Campbell teachers) has objectives listed by grade and a compendium of tests keyed to the objectives. A sample of objectives in English from a pupil profile card follows:

Primary Objectives	K
1 State picture word	
2 Name eight colors	
3 Select name from list	
4 Name familiar sounds	
5 Follow three directions	
6 Reproduce rhythmic pattern	
7 Repeat 3 words orally	
8 Name missing object	
9 Identify emotion	
10 Identify rhyming words	
11 Describe contents of picture	
12 Choose item to answer question	
13 Identify unlike object	
14 Reproduce pictorial representation	
15 Reproduce geometric shape	
16 Respond complete sentence	
17 Identify missing part	
18 Arrange in sequence	
19 Match capital letter	
20 Match picture to beginning sound	
21 Identify letter	

Primary Objectives	1
22 Illustrate conclusion	
23 Pick identical word	
24 Pick object which rhymes	
25 Identify likes and dislikes	
26 Tell story on picture	
27 Vowel sounds - beginning	
28 Configuration form	
29 Inflectional endings	
30 Same vowel sound	
31 Medial and final consonants	
32 Long vowel sound	
33 Pronounce vowel - medial position	
34 Supply initial consonants	
35 Write first and last name	
36 Picture to corresponding word	
37 Form new word - sub. initial consonant	
38 Identify 12 color words	

Primary Objectives, continued	1
39 Select descriptive antonym	
40 Identify compound word	
41 Use context clues	
42 Identify 15 dolch words	
43 Complete sentence - written	
44 Cause and effect	

Primary Objectives	2
45 Initial blend	
46 Initial - final consonant blend	
47 Sentence that is true	
48 Retell in sequence	
49 Use context clues	
50 Vowel digraph - Medial position	
51 Consonant digraph	
52 Synonyms	
53 Antonyms	
54 Vowel digraph - ending	
55 Root word	
56 Vowel digraph - dipthong letter	
57 Main idea in story	
58 Vowel Long and short - final E added	
59 Form compound word	
60 Place apostrophe	
61 Write upper - lower case alphabet	
62 Locate table of contents	
63 C or G soft sound	
64 Make plural S or ES	
65 Cause and effect - discussion	

Pupil's Name _____

The Spanish version of the same sample is:

OBJETIVOS PRIMARIOS	K
1 Nombrar vocabulario de varios dibujos	
2 Identificar ocho colores	
3 Reconocer su nombre	
4 Identificar sonidos familiares	
5 Seguir instrucciones en secuencia	
6 Reproducir sonido rítmico	
7 Repetir oralmente tres palabras	
8 Nombrar el objeto que falta	
9 Seleccionar dibujo que represente emoción	
10 Identificar dos dibujos que rimen	
11 Describir el contenido de un retrato	
12 Escoger el objeto apropiado	
13 Identificar el objeto distinto	
14 Reproducir el tema de un cuento por dibujo	
15 Reproducir figuras geométricas	
16 Responder en una oración completa	
17 Identificar la parte del objeto que falta	
18 Arreglar dibujos en secuencia	
19 Identificar una letra escrita	
20 Relacionar la letra mayúscula con letra minúscula	
21 Colocar un objeto con otro que empieza con el mismo sonido	

OBJETIVOS PRIMARIOS	1
22 Ilustrar conclusión de un cuento oral	
23 Escoger palabra idéntica	
24 Identificar objetos que rima	
25 Identificar cuentos y dichos	
26 Relatar un cuento sobre un dibujo	
27 Identificar par de palabras con mismo vocal y consonante	
28 Aparear palabra a su forma configurativa	
29 Aparear mayúscula con su minúscula	
30 Combinar consonante y vocal	

OBJETIVOS PRIMARIOS, CONTINUADO	1
31 Formular palabras combinando sílabas	
32 Identificar una palabra dictada	
33 Escribir primer nombre y appellido	
34 Identificar el sonido "ch"	
35 Reconocer la significancia del cuento	
36 Identificar el sonido de la "d" suave	
37 Distinguir la "n" y la "ñ"	
38 Escribir la consonante inicial omitida	
39 Escribir forma plural (s)	
40 Identificar dibujo a su palabra correspondiente	
41 Identificar doce palabras de colores	
42 Escoger oración que describe ilustración	
43 Identificar palabra faltante	
44 Identificar quince palabras escritas	
45 Escribir una oración completa	
46 Relacionar lo que puede suceder antes o después	

OBJETIVOS PRIMARIOS	2
47 Identificar sonidos iniciales	
48 Relatar un cuento en propia secuencia	
49 Escribir la palabra faltante en una oración	
50 Distinguir el uso de la "g" y la "k"	
51 Diferenciar el uso de "r" y "rr"	
52 Identificar palabras cuyo sentido es semejante	
53 Identificar palabras cuyo sentido es opuesto	
54 Identificar genero masculino y femenino	
55 Formar el diminutivo	
56 Identificar la idea principal de un cuento	
57 Escribir mayusculas y minusculas	
58 Identificar una oracion completa	
59 Localizar la tabla de contenidos	
60 Distinguir el uso de la "j" y la "g"	
61 Formar plural con "s" o "es"	
62 Contestar ¿quién? ¿qué? ¿donde? o ¿cuando?	
63 Discutir la relación de causa y efecto	

Pupil's Name _____

Most of the tests contain multiple items, and a minimum acceptance level is specified.[5] Below is the test in English for objective 41, "use context clues":

CAMPBELL READING MANAGEMENT SYSTEM

Content Class

41

INSTRUCTIONS: Ask the child to point to the missing word and read the sentence.

1. Ron can _____.

   was with work

2. The rabbit can _____.

   joy jump just

3. The ball is _____.

   new night not

4. Lee had fun at the _____.

   paint party put

5. The animal is _____.

   laugh little look

Minimum Acceptance: 4

The test in Spanish for the comparable objective, "Identificar palabra faltante," follows:

Identificar palabra faltante.

(43)

CAMPBELL READING MANAGEMENT SYSTEM

INSTRUCCIONES: Pídale al estudiante que lée la oración y apunte la palabra faltante.

La ardilla busca _____.

sol comida bueno

La familia está en la _____.

casa cantar avión

Los niños ven la _____.

duerme donde televisión

Tomás se _____ mucho.

divierte voy con

El sol sube y _____.

brinca baja llora

Aceptación mínima: 4

Teachers are expected to indicate on the profile card when a pupil has attained an objective and whether more than one testing was required.

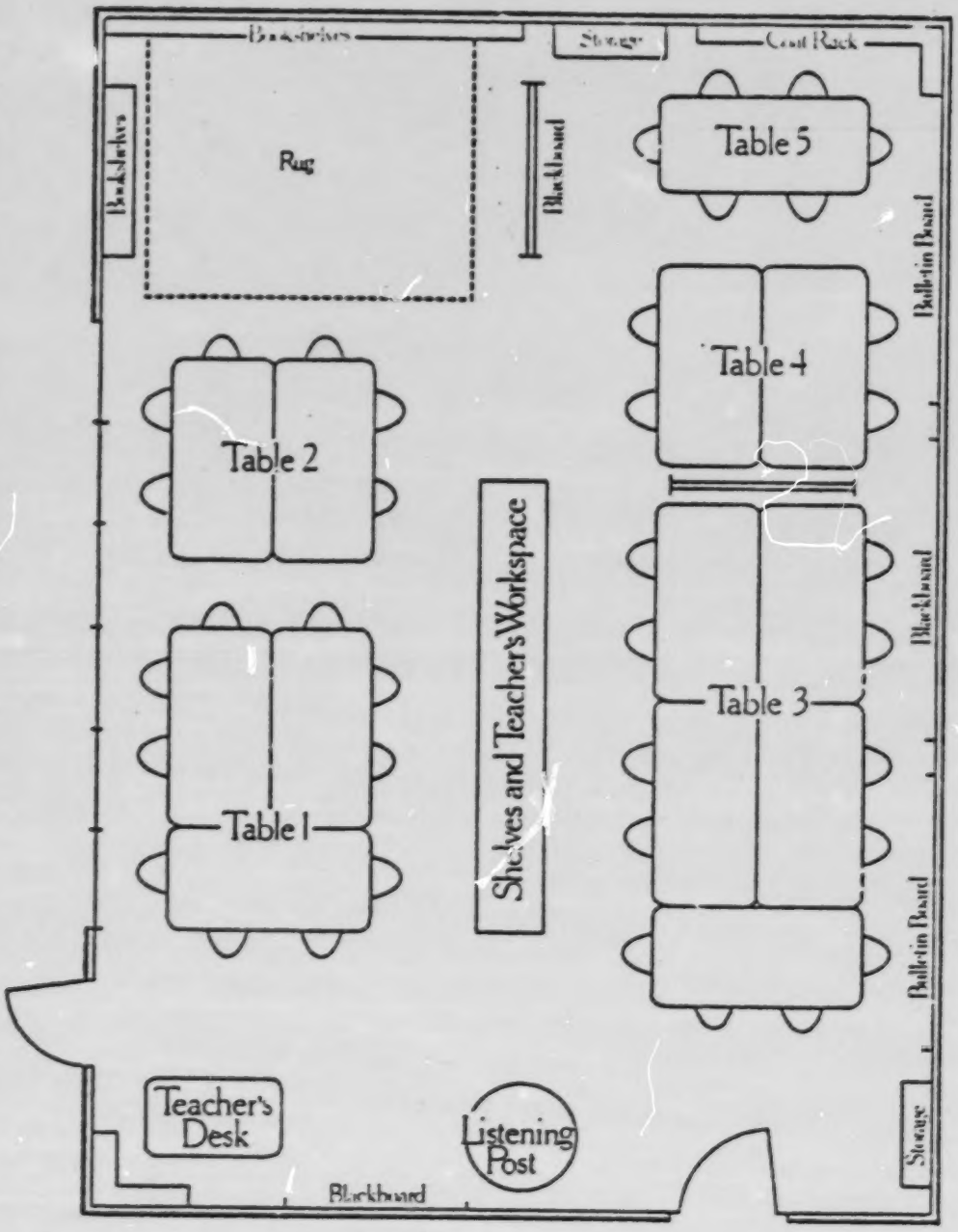
The demand these systems place on teachers' time is formidable. Their widespread use determines to a great extent the kinds of socializing experiences pupils are, in fact, having. In brief, curriculum management systems are, like state and federal mandates, a kind of intervention in the life of the school—and quite literally an intervention between teacher and pupil. Teachers observe rightly that these systems free them for more individualized instruction. At the same time, the systems (by definition and in operation) provide not only the content of learning

experience but also the structure and sequence of behaviors required to reach a learning goal. In the process they foster the formation and maintenance of small groups of pupils who function as a part of the system but who also evolve adaptations to it. A practical consequence for pupils is the opportunity to learn how to manage a group-oriented academic environment.

To explicate curriculum system organization and process I will use observational data on two classrooms, a first/second grade combined Spanish component class and a fifth grade English component class. Over a week of observations were made in the Spanish component class.[6] The description which follows also draws on a sequence of 35mm slides covering every major activity in the class during a day, and on protocols from an interview which focused on the teacher's perceptions of the content and context of each slide. A schematic diagram of the classroom is on the following page and tables are numbered to designate group work areas referred to in the notes. The teacher is Olivia Flores who is in her second year of teaching. She earned her bachelor's degree in Spanish and her teaching credential from a California university and is presently working on a bilingual/bicultural teaching credential. She was born in Mexico and at age 10 came to the United States with her family. Her instructional aide, Gloria Rendon, was also born in Mexico. Ms. Rendon is a part-time student at a local community college and aspires to become a teacher.

School begins at 9:00 a.m. for first graders. When the bell rings the children line up in two rows at the edge of the playground near the classroom. When they are quiet Ms. Flores signals them to go in. They

Figure 3.1. First/Second Grade Classroom



hang up their jackets and sweaters and gather on the rug in the far corner of the room.

9:00-9:15 Homeroom (two-thirds Spanish component and one-third English component pupils). Most mornings the aide is in charge of opening homeroom activities--announcements, taking role, obtaining information from children, and listening to accounts of their weekend (Vamos a compatir que hacían al fin de la semana.) Ms. Rendon asks a girl to start (¿Quieres decir algo?) The girl talks about a visit to a relative. Other hands go up. Another girl describes (in English) an automobile accident her family was in. At the end of the account Ms. Rendon translates for Spanish component children. The girl adds a comment and a boy sitting on the outside of the rug turns to his friend and translates into Spanish.

9:15-10:00 Spanish Component. Ms. Flores dismisses the English component children who cross the hall to the English component classroom. Their Spanish component counterparts enter and sit down at assigned tables, in groups organized on the basis of reading levels. This period is for handwriting, vocabulary, spelling, and special topics in social studies. Ms. Flores is sitting on the rug, using flash cards with three pupils who are the slowest group. Before she starts she makes sure the groups at tables 1 and 2 are started with writing exercises. Those groups are middle to above average in reading. Ms. Rendon is working at table 3 with the second grade reading group, the fastest group, to which the more advanced first graders are

also assigned. She writes the following words on the board: cielo, ciudad, violín, piano, viaje, peine, reina, seis diamente, murcielago. She talks about their meaning and tells the pupils to use the words in sentences.

The Oral Language Development aide is working with a slow to average reading group at table 4.

9:30 Ms. Flores sends the slow group back to table 5 to draw and she moves to tables 1 and 2 to check their progress. Ms. Rendon finishes working with second graders at table 3, gives them an assignment, and moves to a work area to prepare materials for the next lesson.

9:40 The O.L.D. aide has finished with the group at table 4 and departed for another classroom. Ms. Flores and Ms. Rendon are now preparing materials for the next hour. The children are at work on various exercises.

10:00-10:15 Recess

10:15-11:00 Spanish Component. This period is for mathematics. There are three groups. The fast students, mostly second graders, are at table 3. Two first graders are also in this group. They come over to the table to get the assignment and then return to their "reading level" seats at tables 1 and 2. The other children at tables 1 and 2 are at the medium achievement level in mathematics. The slowest math group sits at tables 4 and 5 and the pupils move back and forth between the tables and the rug as Ms. Flores works with them in small groups or on an individual basis. Three children from this group are working on a numbers puzzle. The fast math students are working with the aide on clock time

practice.

10:40 The teacher is now at tables 1 and 2 with the medium group working on sets of five.

11:00-11:40 Spanish Component. All groups are working on reading. The aide is with the fast group at table 3. They are using a second grade reader and doing exercises. Ms. Flores starts the groups at tables 1 and 2 on exercises and moves to the rug to work with the slowest children, again using flash cards. The O.L.D. aide has come back to the classroom to work for 20 minutes with a slow group of pupils.

11:40-11:45 Homeroom. Homeroom classes are formed again as an exchange takes place between the two rooms. Tables are straightened and cleaned up, lunch tickets are handed out and the children are taken to the cafeteria.

11:45-12:20 Lunch

12:20-12:25 Homeroom. The children come in from the playground. Ms. Flores instructs them on the activities for the rest of the day and the Spanish component children go to the other classroom.

12:25-1:25 English Component. The English component class gathers on the rug with the teacher who shows them a picture book on hygiene. She talks in Spanish about each picture. There is much laughter especially at the last picture which shows a little boy and a little girl in a tub. When she finishes the book she divides them up into two groups. The aide works at table 3 with children who are already beginning to read in Spanish. Ms. Flores works at tables 1 and 2 with 15 children who are not ready to read

in Spanish. She uses the Peabody kit and other materials. They look at pictures and she talks with them about the pictures in Spanish, now and then translating to help them with the lesson.

12:45 The teacher goes to the board and writes A mi me gusteria ser...and tells them in English and Spanish they are to draw a picture of someone they want to be when they grow up. Then they are to tell the teacher in Spanish what they have drawn. The aide continues to work with the faster group at table 3.

1:05 Ms. Flores calls the children to the rug. She has them come up one at a time, stand by her, hold up the drawing and talk about it. In most cases she has to tell the child what the Spanish word is for the occupation the child has drawn. They have drawn pictures of a nurse (enfermera), painter (artista), teacher (maestra), and gardener (jardinero).

1:25-1:40 Recess

1:40-2:10 Homeroom. The children listen to records, sing, practice dances, finish drawings, copy messages to their parents and prepare to go home.

Ms. Flores believes dependency is a basic trait of Mexican American children. She thinks teachers need to instill independence if the children are not to be at a disadvantage throughout school.[7] She describes how she does this:

> I tell them at the very beginning of the year one of the most important lessons they can learn is how to become independent. I work on that over and over because the Mexican family is very dependent on each other. Mexican children have a more difficult time learning the skills and attitudes necessary

to proceed more independently. It takes a lot of discipline. I am very strict. They know when I assign something they are to sit down and do it. I tell them "if you do the work I'll come to you after working with the other groups. All groups need help but there are only two people." If they make noise or are disruptive I cut down on the time I work with them or I keep them in at recess or deny them physical education time or, in more severe cases, assign them detention after school. Basically, I tell them not to waste time, but to make good use of their time because the clock is always running.

Learning to work independently in a small group is required for successful adaptation to curriculum systems. Now and then pupils engage in cooperative behavior -- give spelling tests, hear each other read, answer questions, correct mistakes. Most of the time they proceed independently through each phase of the system--from one exercise to another, from one unit to another, from one color code to another. Their progress is evaluated by the teacher who then assigns the next learning increment to be undertaken. But the isolating influence of a curriculum system is muted by the dynamics of small groups and this effect is enhanced by the absence of continuous direct adult supervision.

Pupil attributes which Ms. Flores seeks to develop in her class of predominantely Mexican American children reflect traditional Anglo values: independence, productivity, time-orientation. She believes such values (and those teaching processes and required pupil behavior which follow from them) are functional to academic progress — as functional for

Mexican American children as for the small number of Anglo children she sees every day during homeroom periods. We shall see that the fifth grade English component teacher, Ms. Blakey, shares this point of view. Through observations of her class I will examine in more detail organizational and instructional aspects of curriculum systems.

Gwen Blakey has had five years of teaching experience but is in her first year at Campbell. There are 22 pupils in the English component, 17 of whom are classified (by their parents) as of "Spanish origin"; in most cases because both parents were born in Mexico. Four of these 17 pupils were themselves born in Mexico and are completely bilingual. For two other pupils English was once a second language but is now their dominant language. When Ms. Blakey starts the school day—with Homeroom--there are 29 pupils, (13 from her English component group and 16 from the Spanish component group) and the ethnic mix is more complex. She has a class which includes nine pupils who were born in Mexico, five of whom attended school in Mexico in the early grades. She also has six NES/LES pupils (non-English speaking/limited English speaking) from the Spanish component group who, since neither she nor her instructional aide is bilingual, must depend on bilingual peers to translate instructional messages when needed.

The classroom has the same kind of furniture and spatial arrangement as Ms. Lopez' class—tables grouped together, partitions to isolate the sight and sound of special instructional groups, library and curriculum system material and files. The day begins at 8:30. I will describe only the morning classes of one day.

8:30-9:00 Homeroom. The usual activity is handwriting practice. Today the class is going to write a letter to a United States Senator.

8:35 Ms. Blakey calls the class to order and describes the format of the letter and the kind of information appropriate.

8:38 She hands out cards with basic information about the format and possible subjects of the letters and then answers questions about the assignment.

8:43 She moves about the room helping individual pupils with their letters. Mrs. Prescott, the aide, does the same.

8:47 Two sixth graders enter the room and deliver a message to Ms. Blakey. She writes on the board information about a school dance scheduled for the next Friday afternoon and then reads the announcement to the class.

8:50 The teacher and aide continue helping with the letter.

9:00-10:00 Spanish Component

9:00 The bell rings and Ms. Blakey says, "If you haven't finished, we will work on the letter later today. Everything off your desks."

9:02 English Component pupils in the teacher's homeroom leave for instruction in Spanish and Spanish component pupils from Gene Stinson's homeroom (Mr. Stinson is Ms. Blakey's team-teacher) come in from across the hall for a reading and spelling lesson in English.

9:03 Sylvia Gomez, an O.L.D. aide, comes in to work with the slowest pupils on English oral language development. She talks with them at a table behind a portable partition in one corner

of the room.

9:05 "Pearl Divers!", the teacher calls out and a group with readers in hand come to her table.

In addition to Ms. Gomez' ESL group there are four other groups (from 3 to 5 pupils in each group) spread out at different tables. The pupils move to an assigned table and group as soon as they enter the room and without prompting from the teacher. Each group begins work in one of four different curriculum or instructional systems and in the course of a period complete a unit of work in that system. They begin (and frequently complete) a unit of work in a second system. The four systems in use are: graded readers in a reading series; a "multi-level reading laboratory" consisting of sets of color coded reading selections and tests; an individualized spelling program with color coded word lists and a log to fill in with the completion of each list; a reading skills series consisting of sets of booklets covering topics such as "working with sounds," "following directions," and "getting the main idea." Associated with these systems are, to varying degrees depending on the structure of the system and the predilections of teachers, pedagogical devices such as pretests, post-tests, peer tutoring, and an almost unending flow of ditto sheets.

During this first period Ms. Blakey works for most of the hour with the reading series. She calls each group in turn to a table near her desk and hears them read. The aide works with one of the other groups for a short period of time and then moves to still another group to check their progress. At intervals teacher and aide pause to talk to each other or to obtain and distribute additional curriculum materials.

10:00-10:15 Recess. Ms. Blakey has playground duty this week. When the bell rings, tables are cleaned, and the room quiet she signals dismissal and accompanies her class to the upper playground reserved for the older pupils.

10:15-11:00 English Component. Reading and language arts. Organizational and instructional processes are the same as in the previous period except there are six groups instead of five.

11:00-11:35 Social Studies. English and Spanish Components alternate each week. An elaborated version of a topic is presented in the primary language; a simplified, summarizing version, in the second language.

11:00 The teacher is setting up a film on California missions. There is a knock at the door and a father of one of the boys enters. He says he wants to know something about math, about how proportions and ratios are done so that he can help his son know when he is wrong. Ms. Blakey works with the father for 10 minutes. The pupils remain quiet but do little work. When the father leaves, she turns to the son and says, "now your father can help you when you get that kind of problem wrong." The boy says nothing but continues to look at the baseball glove he has in his hand.

11:15 Ms. Blakey begins describing the film. The room is noisy. She keeps talking and then pauses and starts asking them questions about what she has just said. The room becomes quieter and she begins the film.

11:38 The film ends. She comments about life in the missions and then tells them to get ready to switch back to homeroom.

11:40-11:45 Homeroom. Announcements and preparations for lunch. When the bell rings she takes them to the cafeteria line and then goes to the faculty room for her lunch.

The afternoon period begins at 12:25 with math. Art and science is at 1:10 and physical education at 1:50. The school day ends at 2:15. The Homeroom grouping is used for all afternoon periods.

Excluding recess, the lunch period, and physical education there are approximately 4 hours and 5 minutes of instructional time in the school day. Based on an analysis of my observational notes for the entire day, instructional time was distributed over the following modes:

Table 3-3. Instructional Mode by Time and Percentage in Ms. Blakey's Fifth Grade Class

	Time	Percentage
1. Class instruction: the attention of the entire class is required for purposes of instruction. The teacher (or a film) is soliciting pupil involvement.	29 min	12%
2. Group instruction: the teacher is working with a small group (3-6 students).	1 hr. 18 min.	32%
3. Individual instruction: the teacher is working with a single student, at her desk or at the student's place of work.	1 hr. 39 min.	40%
	3 hrs. 25 min.	84%

During the remaining 16% (approximately 40 minutes) of class time, Ms. Blakey was mainly involved in class management activities, e.g., making announcements, disciplining the class, supervising a change in class periods, organizing class activities. In comparing the nature and sequence of classroom activities reported here with observations made on other days in Ms. Blakey's

class and in other classrooms, I find the use of the various instructional modes indicated above to be representative of classroom life in general at Campbell. There are, to be sure, variations in Ms. Blakey's class as well as those of the other teachers. Generally, however, across all classes the group and individual instruction modes predominante and those values of independence, productivity, and time orientation which Ms. Flores deemed to be essential to academic success in her first/second grade class are operative in other classes as well.

Within these instructional modes social as well as academic transactions are a continuing part of the daily life of classrooms--at the tables, at bookshelves where system units and records are kept in boxes, at the sink where students clean up after art work or wash off plastic sheets used to write answers to workbook exercises. While the data I have are inconclusive, there is some evidence that such transactions increase through the grades as pupils become more practiced in the mechanics of curriculum systems. In the upper grades there is more movement in classrooms, more social interaction within and across groups, more temporary deviations from assignments underway, more language switching in informal exchange. Presumably these social settings are useful to pupils as they work out personal adaptations to the bilingual-bicultural program.

The consequences these modes have for individual students may be further explicated through observational notes on the classroom experience of a single student. At my request Gene Stinson chose a "typical" boy from his fifth grade Spanish component class and obtained permission for me to accompany him throughout the school day.[8] Gilberto Estrada is

11 years of age, and of medium height and weight for his age. He has light skin, dark hair, pleasant angular features and a stocky frame. With his parents, an older brother, and two younger sisters he lives in a small frame house three blocks from school. His father is a cannery worker; his mother manages the household and is active as a classroom volunteer at the school. Mr. Estrada was born in Mexico; Mrs. Estrada, in California. The two older boys were born in California; the girls, in Mexico. The movement of the family over the years across the border was due to changing job opportunities and extended family relationships. Gilberto was three when the family moved to Mexico and five when they returned to California. He says that in Mexico he forgot his English and that after several years in California he forgot his Spanish. Now he feels he is bilingual but stronger in English. He speaks English at home but generally speaks Spanish with his friends at school because most of them are not as bilingual as he is. Mr. Stinson rates Gilberto as bilingual but not yet biliterate and thinks he is stronger in Spanish than in English.

The day begins with Homeroom. I will describe only the first two periods.

8:20 Gilberto arrives at school, goes to the upper playground, puts down his books, greets a classmate, and the two join in an impromptu kickball game.

8:30 The bell rings. The game continues until Gene Stinson appears and calls them to line up at the door. Gilberto stops, retrieves his books and moves into the line. He leans against the student in front of him, an expression of mock fatigue on his face.

8:32 The teacher tells them to go in. Gilberto straightens up and moves forward into the building, down the hall and into the classroom.

8:34 Gilberto sits down at a table near the back of the room, takes books and papers out of the storage drawer under the table, stacks them next to books he has brought, rearranges the collection and puts most of it back. He keeps out his language arts book and a piece of writing paper.

8:30 Mr. Stinson says, "May I have your attention. We'll start today with handwriting. Take out your books and do p. 17 and p. 34. Sit up, use good posture, and [he turns to one boy] don't clinch the pencil so tightly. Relax and you can write better." Gilberto turns to a boy sitting at the table with him and asks, "Qué páginas dijo?" His classmate tells him and Gilberto turns to page 17 and begins copying sentences from the exercise.

8:40 Gilberto writes slowly. He completes four sentences, looks up and gazes around the room, and taps his pencil on his teeth. Then he returns to copying sentences.

8:45 He is still writing. The teacher is returning paragraphs on "America, Land of Opportunity" which the class wrote the previous day. He says, "Some of you wrote good papers." He puts Gilberto's paper down on the table. The grade is C. Gilberto picks it up, looks at it, turns to his tablemate and, pointing to the grade at the bottom of the sheet says, "Vea!"

8:47 He starts copying sentences again. The teacher breaks in, "When you finish the exercise you can do homework if you haven't finished that assignment..... Cuando terminan el ejercicio pueden

hacer la tarea, si no la completaran." Gilberto writes one more sentence, sets paper aside, puts book in drawer and takes out math text and homework paper. He is doing two-and three-digit multiplication exercises. He has six problems completed on his homework paper and, turning to the text, finds the seventh, copies it down and starts to work.

8:53 He has completed three problems and is working on a fourth. He continues to work slowly; now and then he looks up and around the room to see what others are doing; he watches the teacher help a boy at a nearby table.

8:55 Gilberto has stopped in the middle of a problem. Mr. Stinson comes by and asks what's wrong. Gilberto shrugs his shoulders and the teacher proceeds to work the problem and explain it to him.

9:00 The bell rings. The Spanish component class is scheduled to go to Ms. Blakey's room for instruction in English. Gilberto continues to work on the math problems. Mr. Stinson says "O.K." Gilberto puts away the math, gets out a reader, stands up, says to classmate "Jorge, are you going to play keep-away otra vez?" Jorge answers, "Sí." Gilberto leaves the room, goes across the hall into Ms. Blakey's room and sits down at a table with Jorge.

9:06 Gilberto and Jorge start talking about a Work-a-Thon they might sign up for. Ms. Blakey tells the class to get into reading groups. The boys stop talking. She says they can read silently or to each other. Gilberto and Jorge find the story in the reader and begin alternately reading sentences to each other.

9:17 Gilberto and Jorge are still reading to each other. They have not interrupted their work in the past ten minutes. They work to the persistent but moderate sound of classmates reading to each other or to the teacher--or talking. It is a sound punctuated at irregular intervals by Ms. Blakey's call for another reading group.

9:29 Gilberto and Jorge finish the story. Gilberto stretches, looks around the room and then he and Jorge begin idly thumbing through the reader, pausing to look at the pictures.

9:32 Gilberto looks up, lets the page slip from his hand, gazes around the room, says "Pues...", gets up and goes over to the reading skills series kit on a desk near the door. He takes out his folder. In it he has written what his assignment would be for today. The aide has already removed from the folder the previous assignment he completed. He takes a green booklet with a story, "A Hero of the Air," returns to his seat and begins reading.

9:39 He finishes the story and begins to answer the questions on a work sheet.

9:41 Gilberto gets up and goes to the pencil sharpener on the wall near the teacher's desk and a bulletin board. He begins looking at class pictures that are tacked on the board. Jorge comes up to look too.

9:43 They return to their table and continue working on the story questions.

9:49 Ms. Blakey says, "May I have Silver Twist?" Gilberto and Jorge put away the booklets, pick up their readers and go to the teacher's table. They are joined by two girls who are in the same reading group but

who sit at a separate table. As they mill around the table Gilberto starts arranging where everyone is to sit, i.e., "Sienta te alli e yo, aquí."

9:52 They are settled and Ms. Blakey says, "Listen as I read the questions to you and I will tell you how and where to find the answer." She has written questions on the board about the story they are to read. She takes one question and shows them where the answer is in the text. Then she says, "Any questions? Who needs paper?" She hands out paper and the two girls and Jorge return to their tables. Gilberto remains to copy the questions and then returns to his table.

9:57 He begins reading the story.

9:59 He finishes the story and starts on the first question. He glances at Jorge and points to where the answer to the first question can be found.

10:00 The bell rings. Gilberto gets up and the students return to Mr. Stinson's room.

Ms. Blakey says that "to make the system work you have to keep after them from the first day--to teach them to work on their own. I'm not in the business of saying to children, 'now take out your books.'" So Gilberto (like his Mexican American and Anglo classmates) has to learn to "work on his own," while he is in Ms. Blakey's room as well as Mr. Stinson's, whether English is the language of communication or Spanish, and without regard to his ethnic background and identity or the bilingual/bicultural program.

Biculturalism in classroom and school life

Teacher attitudes

When children enter Campbell classrooms they encounter teachers who make few distinctions between the social and cultural characteristics of Mexican American and Anglo pupils. The following statements respond to the question: What ethnic differences do you find among Campbell pupils?

> As to ethnic differences, well the Mexican child is more dependent, more sensitive. With the Anglo child you can say, do this or do that and he will. With the Mexican child you have to be there to help. I don't see any other differences but I think because I have a Mexican background I use gestures and body movements that children with a Mexican background understand better than Anglo children. When it comes to talking to them about their ethnic identity, I sometimes try to help them if I know their background but I don't want to put something in their head. If children are Mexican American I let them find out their own identity.
>
> I think there are ethnic differences but I'm not sure how to pinpoint them. The children do seem different from previous schools I've taught at where there were mainly Anglo children. They seem to get along better, to resolve conflicts better. Maybe it is because of close family ties so that when there are conflicts on the playground older brothers take care of younger

brothers or sisters and intervene to protect them and end a conflict.

Maybe there do not seem to be ethnic differences among Campbell children because of the high percentage of Mexican Americans. Still it is my experience that Mexicans show more affection. It is a touching culture and Anglos have more of a hands-off culture. Then too, a child with a Mexican background seldom looks an adult in the eye.

Sometimes Anglo children exhibit more individuality in doing and choosing assignments when I give them the opportunity. Then to threaten a Mexican child with reporting his behavior to a parent is much more serious than it would be for an Anglo child. As to a child's sense of ethnic identity well, I told them I was Mexican American because I was born in America but have a Mexican background. But kids, even if they are born here don't accept that version of themselves. I was trying to show them that Mexicans are those who live in Mexico. You have to live there, not just be born there, to consider yourself a Mexicano. A few children in my class say they are Chicanos but I think they get that from their bigger brothers.

Mexican Americans are more cooperative and respectful. Otherwise I don't see any differences.

When I taught an English component class and the Spanish component group would come in during the day, I thought there was a difference, that is, the Spanish component children were more quiet. Now I'm not as certain. Maybe it is because I'm now

> teaching a Spanish component class and I see more variation within this group than across the two groups. There is a difference; I just can't verbalize it. I don't know that I behave any differently toward one ethnic group than another. Perhaps my teaching is more affected by achievement level than ethnicity.

The ethnic differences teachers identify are characteristics of social behavior. Mexican American pupils are more "polite," "respectful," "quiet," "affectionate," and "cooperative." These are traits which parents value. In response to the question, "What personal traits do you want most of all for your children to develop?" Spanish speaking parents replied: "respecto," "buena conducta," "serio," "educado," "disciplinado." English speaking parents responded with: "respect for elders," "respect for others' rights, privileges, and property," "good behavior," "being a good student," "honest." These are traits which teachers also value and which, incidentally, enable them to proceed more efficiently with the management of classroom life.

The high proportion of Mexican American pupils at Campbell, which one teacher mentions as a factor affecting her perception of pupil differences, may also influence teacher judgment about the necessity of becoming involved in individual questions of ethnic identity. The proportion creates for Mexican American pupils a sympathetic social and interpersonal milieu in which they can work out a personal meaning and presentation of ethnic or bicultural identity.[9] Also teachers believe that extra classroom activities in which ethnic heritage is recognized and celebrated provide significant sources and reinforcement of ethnic identity. Finally teachers daily encounter evidence of (and themselves frequently reinforce) the pervasive influence of the media

on the common "language" and cultural experiences of pupils. Discussion of television programs comes up regularly among pupils at play—and in the classroom as, for example, teachers use television programs to talk about occupations. Star Trek cards are brought to school, examined, and traded, especially in the lower grades, and the disco beat of Saturday Night Fever is always heard when children are allowed to play their favorite records during lunch time or when a school dance is in progress.

Extra-classroom activities

Although Campbell has a multi-ethnic/racial pupil population the program emphasis has been bicultural. The effect has been a rich infusion of Mexican oriented tradition in the life of the school and significantly more participation by the predominantly Mexican American parental constitutency. In recent years the principal's concern has been that the school's program would disproportionately reflect Mexican culture. He has sought to make sure that Anglo and Mexican traditions are fairly represented in the school's program of celebrations, folk dances, and dramatic presentations. In assemblies this year the school celebrated Halloween, multi-ethnic American leaders, Thanksgiving, Christmas, Día de la Bandera (Mexican Flag Day), Día del Niño (children's day), Cinco de Mayo (Battle of Puebla, May 5, 1862) and Flag Day. There were other celebrations. Parents gave a dinner (at 3:00 p.m.) in honor of the teachers (Día del Maestro). When the state superintendent of instruction paid a morning visit to the school--and the district superintendent requested that a coffee hour be arranged--six long tables were loaded with Mexican dishes, salads and desserts.

There are celebrations which have no ethnic or national identification but which are anchored in the normative system of the school. Each month a citizenship award's assembly is held. Certificates are given to those students nominated by their teacher in each class. The assembly is held on the playground. Pupils bring out chairs and arrange rows in a semi-circle. A podium with a public address system is set up, and the principal begins with introductory remarks about the importance of the awards.[10]

Today we are going to recognize the students who have been good citizens for the months of April and May. It's a very important ceremony and assembly for us and it should be for you too.

Hoy vamos a reconocer los alumnos quien sidos buenos ciudadanos para los meses de abril y mayo. Esto es una asamblea que es muy importante para todos, para los maestros, para los ayudantes y el director y los alumnos también.

I want you to listen again to all the various reasons that the teachers present and express, when they come to the microphone, about how you can be a good citizen. And although this is our last month for recognizing good citizens, many of you will be here again next year and I want you to work hard toward receiving one of these awards for next year, if, in fact, you didn't receive one this year.

Otra vez espero todos los alumnos que escuchen las varias razones que expresan los maestros. Una persona pueda ser buen ciudadano en varias maneras y varias modos y es importante que todos escuchemos estas razones. Aunque esta es la última asamblea para este año de buen comportamiento, muchos de ustedes van a estar aquí el año entrante y yo espero que ustedes trabajan muy industrioso para recibir este certificado de buen comportamiento en al año entrante si no fue posible recibir uno en este año.

Following his remarks the principal introduces the teachers. They step to the microphone, say a few words about the basis for the awards, call the children to the podium and present certificates. The following excerpt is for the first awards assembly that day, for the primary grades:

Whitman:..... A big hand for all these boys and girls. Next, we're going to hear from Ms. Langer. La maestra de primer año, Ms. Langer. The teacher from the first grade.

Langer: I have a student in my room who has shown tremendous growth in two areas, being a good citizen and being a good worker. Andrea Mendoza.

Whitman: Andrea was the outstanding citizen in Ms. Langer's room for April and also for the month of May, for two months. And next we're going to hear from our other first grade teacher, la maestra de primer año, Ms. Seda.

Seda: Buenos Días. Yo tengo dos niños en mi clase que se han portado muy bien, aparte que se portan bien, tambien son buenos ayudantes en la clase. Hacen muchas cosas que no tiene que mandar, independientes, y por eso yo quiero presentar esto, por dos meses, vana recibir este certificado. La niña Gloria Delgado y el niño Esteban Flores.

These two children in my class have been outstanding citizens, and also in scholarship they have been good workers, and have been very independent in doing their work, and have done many things around the room that I don't have to tell them to do. So, this is what I consider a good citizen.

Spanish component teachers, like the principal, translate as they present awards—and, like their English component colleagues, base their awards on achievement values which facilitate academic success and social values which enhance interpersonal relations in classroom life.[11] They reward students for working hard, helping others, making unusual progress, being sensitive to the needs of others, completing work on time, and assuming responsibilities without being asked.

The principal and bilingual teachers display the bilingual competence—using two languages to manage their work and social environment—which Campbell parents (almost without exception) want first of all from the bilingual program. Parents are not content with the traditional assimilative-oriented admonition that their children have to learn English to make it in the Anglo dominated society. They believe the bilingual job market offers far more opportunity for employment and upward mobility—and they observe critically and carefully the qualifications of those among them who move into positions as bilingual instructional aides.

Curriculum systems have been presented as prototypical instructional processes and have been found to be culturally "Anglo" in their socializing effects—oriented toward individualistic achievement values, and (whether presented in English or in Spanish) eliciting from pupils common patterns of adaptive behavior. Certainly the attributes of these systems are not characteristic of all classroom and school activities. Through social studies units, literature, drama, song and festivities, ethnic heritage is studied, reinforced, and celebrated. Nevertheless, curriculum systems represent a powerful influence on the life of Campbell classrooms and on the values and

teaching practices teachers believe to be fundamental to success. Although the systems serve the objective of individualized instruction, they impose on classroom life a required structure and sequence of teacher and pupil behavior.

To understand the role of curriculum systems and extra-classroom activities in structuring, reinforcing or muting a bicultural experience it is important to view them within the context of the language maintenance bilingual education model used at Campbell. Unlike major alternative program models (transitional or immersion) the maintenance model assumes the continuing importance of bilingual competence to the present and developing needs of Campbell pupils. At every grade, pupils can express these needs in that language which provides them the most meaning. Hence the constant availability to pupils of their mother tongue affords them a more open relationship with teachers and more freedom in their evolving adaptation to a bicultural environment. Of more importance, the maintenance model affirms the equal worth of ethnic backgrounds and the inseparability of language and culture.

Notes, Chapter III

1. This chapter is a minor revision of "Schooling, biculturalism, and ethnic identity" (Warren, 1981). I am indebted to George Spindler for valuable critiques of earlier drafts.

2. Another version for classroom use begins as follows: "Prometo lealtad....."

3. A year later the school added an English-only combined 1/2/3 class to accommodate such pupils.

4. The decision is made by one of the district's two bilingual resource teachers.

5. It is left to the teacher to determine minimum acceptance on a more open-ended test, when, for example, a pupil is asked to retell a story in sequence.

6. The equivalent of three to four days of observations was carried out--as a minimum--in each of the 14 classrooms. Observations in several classrooms extended over a week. Instructional processes in six classrooms were also filmed. The author has produced a 30 minute (16mn) documentary film of the bilingual program.

7. Ramirez and Castañeda (1974) outline a system of teaching procedures and curriculum materials to be used with "field dependent" Mexican American children. Figueroa and Gallegos (1978), using a behavioral rating scale, obtained ratings from 39 Spanish bilingual teachers on 262 children from four ethnic groups (Latino, Mexican, U.S. born Spanish surnamed, and Anglo). Their findings include the following:

> Mexican children are perceived by their predominantly Hispanic, bilingual-education teachers as being more shy, less sociable, less communicative, less assertive, less bright, less competitive, less sure, and less pressured to achieve than most of the other groups and especially less than the Anglo group..... The only positive trait ascribed to Mexican children is that of being well mannered (1978:295).

The authors argue for the need to eliminate the social distance which, their data indicate, exists between teachers and (Mexican) pupils.

8. I sat at a table near Gilberto, with writing materials in hand as classes were accustomed to seeing me. There were several instances when my proximity appeared to be intrusive for Gilberto; at those times I moved away to a position that I felt would not be associated with him. The afternoon before these observations I talked with Gilberto about my interest in learning more about what a day in school was like for him.

9. This proportion may, of course, have a quite different effect on the small number of blacks and Filipino pupils although across all ethnic/racial groups parents express satisfaction with the program and characterize the school as friendly. The proportion has other implications. In combination with a language maintenance model it produces among pupils a social ambiance that reinforces the use of Spanish, when more practice in English is needed for Spanish dominant pupils.

10. The remarks which follow are taken from verbatim transcripts of assembly presentations.

11. Personal preference and social setting, as well as professional judgment and role (which component is being taught) appear to enter into choices bilingual teachers make about code switching. We have in this chapter encountered code switching behavior in the classroom by both teachers and students. In the awards assembly the principal typically begins in English and translates into Spanish. Spanish component teachers begin in Spanish and translate into English. The two bilingual English component teachers generally do not translate their remarks. During recess and lunch the faculty room is a kaleidoscope of code switching. Fishman refers to such behavior as "situational shifting" (1977). In their research on language use in bilingual classrooms, Bruck, Shultz and Rodriquez-Brown (1979) report on code switching by pupils and teachers—and relate the latter to general guidelines for transitional and maintenance programs.

References, Chapter III

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Westland School District

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Chapter IV. Parents, Teachers, and Meetings

In reporting this study I have thus far described the antecedents and organization of Campbell's bilingual-bicultural program and the regularities of school and classroom life through which the program is manifest. In general I have moved from context (Chapters I and II) to process (Chapter III), from an external view to an internal view. The data I will present in this chapter are not specifically descriptive of the bilingual program itself. As the chapter title indicates they are mainly about meetings -- the purpose, format, and substance of meetings which parents and teachers attend as total groups, by representation, in combination with various administrators. I focus on meetings for two reasons: 1) to present what I deem to be important data on the nature of parent participation in schooling, and 2) to compare the substance and organizational consequences of meetings which parents and teachers regularly attend. I will begin with vignettes of Gabriela Encinas, a Campbell parent, and Martha Cuñeo, the school's community aide. Their roles and interaction are important to understanding how Campbell parents in general relate to the school.

Gabriela Encinas is 27 years old, married, and the mother of three children: Ricardo, age 9, Susana, age 7, and a one month old baby boy. Her husband, Roberto, holds two jobs, dishwasher at a restaurant and bakery helper. He is a butcher by trade but due to union difficulties cannot find a job in that capacity. They rent a modest two bedroom house three blocks from Campbell. Behind the house on the same lot is another small two bedroom structure occupied by Mrs. Encinas' mother, her brother, age 20, his wife and one

year old boy, and two younger brothers who attend junior high. Mrs. Encinas has three older brothers and two older sisters living in Tijuana.

As with so many Campbell families the Encinas' present residence has come about through a family history of deep ties with Mexico and intermittent stays in the United States. Mrs. Encinas' mother is a U.S. citizen; she was born in Wisconsin when her family was there as migrant farm workers. Mrs. Encinas was born in Maztlan, the birthplace of her father. When she was four the family moved to Tijuana and from there they periodically entered the United States for farm work. Mrs. Encinas' three younger brothers were all born in the Los Angeles area. Mr. Encinas was born in Tijuana, as was his mother. His father's birthplace was Guadalajara.

The Encinas' completed six years of elementary school in Tijuana and when they married in 1968 she was 17 and her husband, 24. Their oldest son, Ricardo had completed one year of school when the family moved to Westland. They moved, Mrs. Encinas says, to find better paying work and because they thought the schools would be better. When they were established in Westland Mrs. Encinas persuaded her mother to move and live with them and bring her two youngest brothers. She felt they were not doing well in Tijuana schools. Her father remained at Baja. He farms a small plot of land loaned to him and has, she says, no desire to immigrate.

Mrs. Encinas says she likes Campbell and the bilingual program. She is glad that her children are "spoken to in a language they can understand." The family is Spanish dominant. Spanish is spoken in the home between parents and children and among the children and their young uncles. The children use some English with neighborhood playmates. Ricardo and Susana are both in the Spanish component of their respective grades. Mrs. Encinas thinks a bilingual

program is good because it is like having "a choice of two roads to follow". She is proud of her son's progress. He speaks, she says, the best English in the house and frequently interprets for his parents at stores and shops. But she wishes he knew more English because he is only two years away from junior high. She thinks there ought to be more English taught in the upper grades. She wants her children to be successful in secondary school and hopes they will complete a university education.

Mrs. Encinas likes most of the teachers at Campbell and is satisfied with the progress her children are making although Ricardo is "quite slow" in math. Ricardo's first year at Campbell was, she felt, wasted. Although he had completed the first grade in Tijuana, he was placed in one of Campbell's first grade classes. Mrs. Encinas came to feel his teacher was not pushing the children fast enough. When Susana entered the first grade, and Mrs. Encinas learned her daughter was to have the same teacher, she went immediately to Fred Whitman and asked that Susana be assigned to the other first grade teacher. The principal complied. When Ricardo entered the third grade, Mrs. Encinas became a classroom volunteer. Twice each week she spent one to two hours in a classroom helping the teacher and instructional aide prepare materials and supervise the children during play. This year she is treasurer of the Compensatory Education Advisory Committee.

At the end of the school year she was asked in interview to "describe the nature and frequency of your contacts with school personnel during the past year." Her response to the question is summarized below:

First grade teacher: I saw Olivia Flores about once a week to find out how I could help with Susana's work and to check on her progress.

Fourth grade teacher: I talked to Mr. Stinson three or four times during the year, when parent-teacher conferences were scheduled.

Principal: I saw and talked to him about ten times during the year, mainly during parent meetings. I also talked to him once about a matter in which my son was fighting on the playground.

Community aide: I saw Martha Cuñeo three or four times a week about the work of the Compensatory Education Committee. I also went with her to district compensatory meetings.

Nurse: Once during the year I was asked by the nurse to help with a dental prevention program for 4th graders ("Smile Power").

Nurse's Aide: I talked with Veronica Alvarez almost every time I was at the school. We grew up together in Tijuana and are close friends.

Instructional Aides: I talked with the aides maybe one or two times during the year, mainly just greetings -- not about my children's work.

School Secretary: I talked to Norma Sevilla once a week, usually by phone, about absences of my children due to sickness.

The only other school personnel she remembers having some contact with is Laura Fizer, head of the cafeteria -- at morning meetings or during coffee breaks and lunch hour.

Among the 26 parents interviewed (in 23 of the interviews only the mother was present) Mrs. Encinas was in a group of approximately six with the most frequent school contacts. Her comparatively active involvement in school life may be attributable to friendship (with the nurse's aide),

to organizational acclimation and "training" she received as a volunteer, to the success she had in getting the principal to change Susana's teacher, to the more general point of view about the value of education she brought with her to Westland. In her contacts there is no focused accretion of power nor, aside from her success in changing Susana's teahcer, any display or confirmation of influence. Her involvement proceeds in undramatic increments.[1] We will see later in this chapter how the requirements and administration of special programs create arenas in which Mrs. Encinas and other parents become more knowledgeable about and practiced in utilizing the school as a basic social institution to make their interests known and attended to. In this regard the community aide is a key role.

Martha Cuñeo, age 48, is a second generation Mexican American. She was born in a small Arizona town to Mexican American parents who were bilingual but spoke primarily Spanish in the home. She is one of five sisters all of whom, she says, were bilingual by the time they entered school. In the latter years of high school Martha was counseled into a secretarial course. When she graduated she switched to cosmetology, earned a license and worked for two years. The family moved to southern California in 1950 where she obtained her state license and worked as a beautician four more years. She married in 1952; her husband is a plumber. They have four children, the youngest two having been adopted.

While the children were of grade school age Martha was active in the school PTA. As a result the principal offered her a position as a teacher's aide in an educationally handicapped class. She worked in the class for six years -- until it was phased out. She was then asked to take a position of instructional aide in Campbell's program and her second year there was moved to community aide.

The community aide position had first been added to District school staffs in 1970 but the responsibilities of the position were only very generally conceived. In 1977 a protest by aides over the low hourly wage led to the employment by the District of a consulting firm—to develop job descriptions for all classified employees. The qualifications for the community aide position were established as follows: knowledge of community resources, school programs and policies, standard office machines and general purposes and goals of education; ability to read, write and speak fluent Spanish; ability to be responsive to parental concerns and encourage them to participate in school activities; ability to demonstrate patience and warmth in dealing with students and parents, and to assist in the optimum adjustment of students to school and community life; practical experience in working with school and community programs; and the equivalent to the completion of the 12th grade. The district assigns the position the following responsibilities:

1. Recruit for parent conferences and do follow-ups on attendance;
2. Inform parents of the school program and other vital information;
3. Recruit for adult education classes and do follow-ups on attendance;
4. Discuss with parents school problems relating to their children;
5. Keep track of recent arrivals from other areas and make home calls;

6. Translate school bulletins into language that can be understood by the people;
7. Recruit for special programs such as pre-school and summer school;
8. Make home calls requested by the school;
9. Conduct parent surveys;
10. Recruit volunteers for various parent groups;
11. Inform parents of special health services available to pre-school and school age children and make referrals to the proper agencies;
12. Attend meetings in which the community is involved;
13. Keep principal informed of the feelings and the concerns of the community.

Both qualifications and responsibilities are reported here because in their totality they delineate a role which potentially has important consequences for the nature and quality of parent-school relations—and in reality does at Campbell.

Community aides are under the general supervision of a district administrator in charge of special programs but each aide is directly supervised by the school principal whose own style of leadership influences the aide's implementation of the role. According to the program administrator most aides are "kept on a tight rein" and effectively restricted to what are essentially clerical and minor administrative duties. The performance of Martha Cuñeo represents in his judgment and that of Fred Whitman (and confirmed by my own observations, interviews and perusal of logs and reports) a more ideal realization of the expectations for the role.[2] Her activities, and the percentage of time each month devoted to them, are reported below:

Parent groups and advisory committees (25%): she recruits parents for membership and offices, helps plan meeting times and programs, sends out notification, prepares newsletters, prepares yearly outline of proposed meeting times, assigns committee responsibility for the various aspects of the meeting (program, sign-in table, refreshments), sends out questionnaires asking for critiques of programs.

Home visits (20%): She makes visits to check free lunch applications and absences from school, to talk with mothers who have expressed interest in becoming volunteers, to take a tutor to meet a family, to help parents fill out cards in connection with a child's sickness, to pick up federal survey cards, to talk to parents about the 6th grade camp their children may attend (five days in a nearby mountain camp).

Volunteer program (20%): she recruits volunteers, orients and places them in classrooms based on teacher requests and keeps records of participation. She sends out questionnaires to parents and teachers and tries to match interests and needs. She arranges a ceremony to honor the volunteers. She maintains a sign-in/sign-out sheet in her office. The program averages approximately 65 sign-ups each month.

Preparing activities calendar (10%): compiles the information, translates into Spanish, types up, sends out to be reproduced, collects, and distributes to classes.

Student related activities (10%): supervises the work of the safety patrol, organizes fund raising activities for the sixth grade camp, involves parents in preparing costumes for dance class programs, encourages and organizes

pupil attendance at youth concerts.

Other activities (15%): contacts and visits neighborhood organizations, arranges emergency transportation for parents (to a clinic or a first visit to an agency when referred), attends district community aide meetings, interacts with faculty and staff.

I turn now to that area in which Martha Cuñeo spends one-quarter of her time—the organization and activities of formal parent groups. It is within the context of such groups that the interests of Mrs. Encinas as parent and the role of Martha Cuñeo as community aide intersect with -- and are enabled by -- state and federal mandate.

Parent groups and meetings

Campbell has three organized parent groups: the traditional Parent Teachers Association and two "advisory" groups, the Bilingual Education Committee and the Compensatory Education Committee (also referred to as Title 1/EDY). A fourth group, the Preschool Advisory Committee is in the early stages of formation and does not yet meet with the other groups. Advisory parent groups or committees derive essentially from state and federal program funding requirements. Proposals for funding or the renewal of funding under Title I and Title VII of ESEA and subsequent amendments must include provisions for the establishment of parent advisory groups and for their integration into planning, implementation, and review of program proposals.

The California State Department of Education further sanctions the role of such parent groups through the Compenhensive School Level Program Plan (A-127). Schools with special funded programs must each spring prepare an educational program plan for the coming year and submit to an evaluation of program implementation. The introductory text of an A-127 specifies criteria for acceptable parental involvement:

1. At least a quorum of the members of School Advisory Committee has reviewed the school's Comprehensive School-Level Program Plan and the requirements of each of the special program funding sources.
2. Adequate opportunity has been given to the members of the School Advisory Committee to consider the available information concerning the special educational needs of the educationally disadvantaged children residing in the program area, including oral

and/or written information in the primary language of the limited-or non-English speaking members.

3. The staff and parents of children attending the school were involved in the planning and will be involved in the implementation and evaluation of the program at the school level.

An A-127 also requires a school to report in very specific terms the role and/or relationship of a committee member to the school and the participation of members in the previous year's program implementation and in the current year's program development. See the following table.

Table 4-1. School Advisory Committee Self-Reporting of Actual Participation in the 1976-77 Program Implementation and Evaluation; and in Program Planning for 1977-78

Place an asterisk (*) by the name of any member who is bilingual. Place two asterisks (**) by the name of any member who is non-English-speaking.

Place "(T)" after the name of any member who is also a member of the school's ESEA, Title I, committee; "(B)" after the name of any member who is also a member of the school's state bilingual education program committee; and "(Pre)" after the name of any member who is also a member of the school's state preschool program committee.

School Advisory Committee members (A)	Parent of compensated education participant (B)	Parent of participating Title I or E.S.E.A. 90/91/ESY student (C)	Parent of participating state bilingual (E.C.E. 5/7011) student (D)	Parent employed by the school district (E)	Community representative (F)	Teacher (G)	Aide (H)	District Advisory Committee member (I)	Program Year 1976-77: Assisted on study (J)	Developed classroom materials (K)	Volunteered minimum of 40 hrs. in classroom (L)	Tutored regularly on classroom (M)	Participated on classroom planning (N)	Attended school committee meetings (O)	Attended school advisory meetings (P)	Assisted on program monitor and review (Q)	Program Year 1977-78: Assisted on redirection of implementation (R)	Assisted on goal setting (S)	Assisted on analysis of data (T)	Assisted on objective setting (U)	Assisted on budget preparation (V)	Assisted on school plan writing (W)
** Rosana Chavez (TI)	X	X	X					X						X	X							X
* Maribel Avila (TI)	✓	✓	✓	✓				✓						✓	✓	✓						✓
** Laura Borbon (TI)	X	X	X					X	X	X		X	X	X	X							X
** Raquel Sevilla (TI)	X	X	X					X		X				X	X	X						
* Gloria Estrada (Pre)	✓	✓	✓					✓						✓	✓							
* Edith Perez (Bi)	X	X	X											X	X							
** Carmen Gomez	X	X	X						X		X		X	X	X	X						X
* Estelle Marino (Bi)	X		X			X			X		X			X		X	X	X	X	X		X
* Olivia Flores							X	X						X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
* Martha Cuéco							X	X					X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X		X
Signature of chairperson	Date																					

As one might anticipate from the data presented in Chapter I the children of parents on the committee are all in the bilingual program and with one exception (those of Estelle Merino) are also in the Title 1/EDY program. Hence in their participation parents have family interests to protect as well as the school program to further.

Among the three groups the traditional Parent Teachers Association is the weakest. Fred Whitman and other principals in the district say the PTA has been "killed off" by federal and state funds which support instructional aides and noon supervisors and in other ways put people to work thereby eliminating time and incentive to be involved in the school on a more informal basis. By definition and mandate the advisory groups have more entrée to involvement in processes and issues which require action by the central administration. Hence there is opportunity for the accretion of power by these groups to a degree not typical of the parent teachers association.[3] It is an incipient power which is advanced in small increments as parents become more practiced in examining how the system and separate schools are proceeding on various matters -- and in exerting public pressure to affect a particular outcome.

As a parent and advisory committee officer Mrs. Encinas has three monthly meetings to attend: 1) the school's general meeting for parents and teachers, 2) a meeting of officers of the three groups, and 3) a district-wide meeting of compensatory education committees.

1. General meeting

The meeting of parent groups and teachers (reunion de padres y maestros) is directed, through ceremony and information-sharing, at maintaining and reinforcing the view that parents need to be included in the educational process and that the interests of parents and teachers are mutually reinforcing. The

monthly meetings alternate between evening (7:00 p.m.) and morning (9:30 a.m.). The evening meeting makes it possible for working parents to attend. The morning meeting includes a coffee break at a time when teachers have recess and can join the parents.

A bilingual announcement (see below) goes out a week before the meeting and a second is sent home the day before the meeting.

Westland School District

CAMPBELL SCHOOL

PARENT -TEACHER MEETING
Free Child Care

REUNION DE PADRES Y MAESTROS
Habrá cuidado de niños

THURSDAY	November 17, 1977	7:00 p.m.	JUEVES	Noviembre 17, 1977	7:00 p.m.

November 13-19 is National Education Week

A good reason to attend the monthly meeting at your school.

The school mini-program will include demonstration of the MATH FAIR in which your children will soon participate.

The Bilingual Parent Advisory is planning an informative program for you.

Compensatory Education Parent Advisory Group will contact First Grade mothers for cookies this month.

P.T.A. will be in charge of the room count and of the door prize that you will be eligible to win if you attend.

See you at the meeting.

Fred Whitman
Principal

Semana de noviembre 13-19 dedicada a Educación Escolar

Un buen motivo para asistir a la junta mensual de su escuela.

Habrá un mini-programa presentado por el personal sobre el Concurso de Matemáticas en que su niño pronto participará.

El grupo de Padres de Educación Bilingue esperan tener un programa informativo para ustedes.

El Grupo de Padres de Educación Compensatoria están encargados de comunicarse con las madres de niños de primer año para proveer las galletas.

El P.T.A. presentará el Banderín de Participación de Padres y también el regalo de la rifa.

Quizás le toque a usted esta vez.

Fred Whitman
Principal

A meeting typically consists of reports from the officers of the three groups, a performance (drama, dance, song) by one or more student groups, information about a school or district-wide program, and attendance enticements, e.g., door prize, Parent Participation Banner Award. Summary notes of the November 17 meeting follow:

It is a pleasant fall evening and the doors to the cafeteria/ auditorium stand open. A table is placed near the door where parents register their attendance as they arrive—and sign a slip to be used in drawing for a door prize. Martha Cuñeo is at the table along with two parents from the PTA. (The PTA has attendance at this meeting, the program is the responsibility of the Bilingual Education Committee, and refreshments, of the Compensatory Education Committee). By 7:00 36 adults and six young children are seated.

Fred Whitman starts with the Pledge of Allegiance (in English) and then introduces the speaker, Audry Roberts, the district's early childhood education coordinator. She is there is talk about guidelines for admission to the pre-school program and to explain how the district is managing the reduction of such classes from eight to six. Campbell had four of the eight classes the previous year and two of the four are being cut in response to a decrease in monies available for the pre-school program. She says the district is adjusting for the reduction by raising the attendance limit in each class from 15 to 20. As she proceeds, in English, she pauses frequently and Fred Whitman translates. He also translates, from Spanish to English, as Ms. Roberts is questioned about the program - by parents who do not speak English. The questioners want more information on the reasons for the cutback, on eligiblity for participation in the program, on the process of registration and certification.

Reports on membership, finances, (including one by Mrs. Encinas) and program activities are given by the Bilingual and Compensatory Education Committees, and two door prizes are awarded (since final

attendance was close to 50) and the PTA president gives her report.

The meeting is closed with a Parent Participation Banner Award. It goes to Olivia Flores for the third straight month. She thanks "her" parents for being there and says the children will be proud and excited the next day. Like the principal she translates frequently as she talks. When she sits down a young mother stands up and claims the count was not correct because it included the teacher and her aide. Parents begin talking among themselves and the mother in charge of the award count asks Mrs. Flores' parents to stand up again. As she is counting an elderly gentleman stands up and says it is a waste of time to argue about such matters when there are more important things to discuss. He sits down and there is clapping. The count continues, is completed, and Mrs. Flores is reaffirmed as the winner.

The principal adjourns the meeting and parents and teachers move to the back of the room for coffee and cookies.

During a school year programs at the general meetings include not only information about educational functions but also celebrations of special days. With the latter the program frequently is a series of presentations by pupils followed by a potluck dinner. In this manner Christmas and El Dia de la Bandera were celebrated.

2. Monthly Officers Meetings

Monthly officers meetings are held in the morning or early afternoon, in a corner of the auditorium, in one of the small portable classrooms, or at a parent's home. The officers of the three parent groups, the community aide, and the principal attend. Each group also has a "teacher representative" as one of the officers. When the meeting is held at the school and a teacher

representative can arrange to have her class supervised by a colleague or aide she will also attend. The three teacher representatives in 1977-78 were Olivia Flores, Claudia Martinez, and Sylvia Espinoza. They are all bilingual. Approximately half of the officers are Spanish-only speakers. Consequently the meetings are conducted primarily in Spanish.

It is in these meetings that the quality of parental involvement is shaped and given direction. Meetings are used to organize programs for the general meetings and to arrange for parental help with special school assemblies and money raising activites. They are also used to organize parental involvement in the preparation and evaluation of Campbell's A-127 Plan. Since the plan addresses in detail the main components of the school program including parent participation and parent education, committee members, in their review role, acquire a large agenda of school centered topics with which they become familiar and about which they are asked to make a judgment. The monthly meetings do not seem restrained by any preconceived notion of committee boundaries. Summary notes of the February 10 meeting follow:

> The meeting convenes at 9:00 a.m. in the auditorium. Martha Cuñeo has arranged chairs in a circle in a corner near the stage. Ten parents, all mothers, are there along with one teacher, Olivia Flores, and Fred Whitman. Mrs. Cuñeo chairs the meeting. She begins the meeting with discussion of plans for the March general meeting. A speaker from the area YMCA office has been invited to talk about their after-school activities for elementary

school children. A first grade class will present a skit and the fifth grade Spanish component class will read a play. Mrs. Cuñeo checks to see that officers of the committee responsible for refreshments and the sign-in table are prepared. She asks them for ideas about future programs. A benefit to purchase trees for the mini-park adjacent to the school and an open house for the Language Arts Fair are considered. Mrs. Cuñeo reports on the amount of money that has been raised thus far by sixth graders to defray the cost of the camp.

When the business part of the meeting has been completed Mrs. Cuñeo invites Fred Whitman to speak. Up to this point he has remained quiet. The principal reports on plans for the school spelling bee and describes a set of curriculum materials that has recently been acquired for the reading program. He asks if there are any questions.

Mrs. Chavez: What is being done to make the change to junior high better for our sixth graders?

Whitman: A joint committee of people from our district and the high school district has been appointed to work on those problems. We want to start by making sure that placement in special classes is not made by junior high officials until the complete records of sixth graders are available (final grades, May achievement tests, etc.) Also, in connection with this problem the superintendent wants to meet with you as often as he can to have a "rap" session on the junior high problem and on anything else you are interested in. If you like, he can come to the next meeting.

Mrs. Avila: We need more basketball nets. The ones in the playground are in bad shape.

Whitman: That's true -- but they don't last long because they get ripped easily and we can't afford metal ones.

Mrs. Sevilla: How is the in-service training for teachers going?

Whitman: It's going fine. We have a schedule of topics and meetings and work on them each week. At our last meeting we reviewed our reading management system. At our next meeting we will hear a talk on the Chinese New Year.

Mrs. Estrada: Do noon supervisors check the bathrooms too?

Whitman: They are suppose to but they don't always.

Mrs. Encinas: At the last Compensatory Education meeting they talked about how much additional money each school would get. Will Campbell get anymore?

Whitman: No. Not any extra. We're not poor enough to be considered for the AB-65 money. But the present allocation will be continued.

Martha Cuñeo asks if there are any other questions. When there is no response she adjourns the meeting.

The March meeting is held in the home of Mrs. Estrada. Superintendent Curtis is there for his first meeting with Campbell parents. Six mothers (including Mrs. Encinas), Mrs. Cuñeo and the principal are crowded into the small, well-kept living room of the Estrada residence. It begins at 9:00a.m. My notes follow:

Since the superintendent is there Mrs. Cuñeo does not conduct the business of the various committees but opens the meeting by thanking the superintendent for coming and asks him to speak. He begins by thanking them for the reception they gave the State

Superintendent of Education in his recent visit to the school and then talks about the possible impact of Proposition 13. He says he is not supposed to speak his mind "before 5:00 p.m." but can say something about its impact on the district. He estimates a 10 percent reduction in the school budget will take place if the Proposition passes. He talks about what programs such a reduction is most likely to effect. As he talks Fred Whitman breaks in at pauses and translates. Sometimes the superintendent talks on at such length that the principal doesn't try to translate. He shrugs his shoulders, parents smile, and the superintendent continues. When his remarks on Proposition 13 are completed he asks if there are questions.

Mrs. Sevilla: How will it affect who works for the district— teachers, principals, aides?

Curtis: Well, it varies. Administrators such as myself and Deputy Superintendent Zuniga have multi-year contracts and the only obligation of the district is to fulfill the contracts. The principals have already received notice of possible termination in their principal positions but they can still teach. With teachers, well, they get tenure at the beginning of the fourth year and can't really be let out except for incompetence. We will be sending possible termination notices to about 30 teachers who have been most recently hired and who do not have tenure. We think we can keep all the aides but those on a seven-hour day may have to be cutback to four and one-half hours.

Mrs. Perez: What can we do about Proposition 13?

Curtis: Well, that's up to you and how you feel. But the district will put out material you can use to decide how you feel about it.

Whitman: It should be in Spanish. The problem is there is practically nothing on the Proposition in Spanish.

Mrs. Borbon: What is the problem with pre-school sign-up? It seems that after we apply we don't hear that our application is in order and that we will be considered. Then it seems we have to apply twice because time runs out - or something like that.

Curtis: I'll see that your first application is verified and that you only have to submit one.

Mrs. Merino: In the parent advisory committees what does it mean, advisory? Is a school obliged to consult us on major things even if they only have to take our responses as advice? There are two things we have not been consulted on -- the combined 4/5/6 English only class and that student attitude survey.

Her questions are addressed to both Superintendent Curtis and Fred Whitman. Neither answers at first -- and Mrs. Merino goes on talking about the problem of teachers at Campbell who do not believe in the bilingual program. She says she thinks they should be transferred and wonders if that can be done. She says she knows Fred gets tense when she mentions teachers but all the same she says something ought to be done about it. The Superintendent replies that he understands her concern but that the class is a function of parents who do not want bilingual education for their chilren.

Superintendent Curtis asks if there are other questions. There are none. He thanks them for the invitation, says he will come again and he and Fred Whitman excuse themselves and leave. The parents

remain behind with Martha Cuñeo to plan for the next meeting.

3. District Compensatory Education Meetings

The by-laws of the district's "Citizen's Compensatory Education Advisory Committee" stipulate that of the total membership "more than a simple majority shall be parents of children who are project participants" (a funding requirement) and that the chairman of the group shall be a parent representative. Five parent members are to be nominated by each target school parent advisory group. These members may not be employees of the district. Mrs. Encinas and the other four officers of Campbell's committee, none of whom is an aide, are the school's members in this group. Fred Whitman and Martha Cuñeo are also members.

The monthly meetings are held in the assembly room of one of the local churches. They begin at 9:30 a.m. after a half hour of coffee. At the March meeting Mrs. Encinas hears more discourse about the impact of Proposition 13 and about personnel policies relating to dismissal.

> The chairman, Mrs. Ibaenz, call the meeting to order. The Pledge of Allegiance is recited and she turns the meeting over to Robert Stevens, the district Director of Special Programs, who supervises Title 1 programs. He announces that the main topics for the meeting are 1) the impact of Proposition 13 and 2) state guidelines governing racial/ethnic isolation in the schools. Stevens introduces James Dilaway, Personnel Director, and Harriet Shepard, Assistant Business Manager. She is asked to begin. She describes the sources of public school monies and points out that 34 percent of it comes from local property taxes. She reviews state funding programs in which the district participates and estimates which ones will likely be cut. She says that

categorical money will be cut to provide more operating monies. that wealthy districts will suffer more by comparison with Westland because of the heavier dependence on local taxes, and that with the passage of Proposition 13 the district could lose a minimum of $1.6 million and a maximum of $2.9, out of a budget of $10.6 million.

There are no questions when she finishes at 10:00 a.m. James Dilaway begins talking about the personnel impact of Proposition 13. It is a more detailed version of the remarks the Superintendent made at the last meeting of the Campbell committee. Dilaway is more explicit in estimating 1) the number of aides who might be cut and the categories of aides subject to reduction, e.g., those not being paid out of federal funds, and 2) programs which might be cut or reduced and the number of teachers who might be affected. He estimates that an elimination of programs such as resource teachers and reading specialists would result in a reduction of 43 teachers - all of whom have tenure and seniority and hence would be bumping those with less seniority. He points out that bilingual teachers (many of whom are relatively new to the district and therefore have less seniority) may be saved from the bumping process if they have the bilingual cross-cultural credential, the multiple subject credential, or a waiver.

Up to this point in the meeting speakers have had their remarks translated by a community aide from one of the other schools. When at 10:30 Manual Zuniga, Deputy Superintendent, talks about state

guidelines on racial/ethnic isolation he does his own translating. He goes over the guidelines and says the district has to have a plan ready by January, 1979. He says the district is working with two members of the State Department of Education to see how it can get into compliance without damaging present programs. When he finishes he asks if there are any question.

Question: What is an ethnically isolated school?

Zuniga: That's what the district has to decide. Westland is 68 percent minority and to determine if there is isolation you can consider student ethnic membership, staffing patterns, the involvment of parents, or the nature of the instructional program. If it is the last one then there can be a question whether a bilingual program works against or fosters isolation. You just have to work on it.

Question: Is the best Spanish being used by bilingual teachers and aides?

Zuniga: Not necessarily.

Mrs. Ibaenz asks if there are other questions. There are none. She thanks Dr. Zuniga and asks for school reports. Each community aide reports on school activities in which parents are involved. The meeting is adjourned at 11:15 a.m. Each school group has been sitting together at tables. With the end of the meeting as people make preparations to leave, the groups break up. Fred Whitman talks to another principal. Martha Cuneo speaks to the community aide who did the translating and who is a Campbell parent. Mrs. Encinas greets a friend, talks briefly, and leaves for home.

At the three meetings which Mrs. Encinas attended during a month's period parents were in a majority, in membership and officers. But there is a difference in the kind of influence they realistically exercise over the course and substance of the meetings. At district-wide compensatory education meetings the central administration plays a primary role in determining what issues are addressed and how they are approached. Most of the topics derive from present or pending state or federal action relating to compensatory education. In this regard the March meeting is typical. Explication is the mode. Now and then at meetings procedural changes in the operation of the group are proposed, usually by principals or community aides. Still more infrequent but dramatic are those times when an issue is joined in a way that cuts across role boundary lines and violates expectations of appropriate behavior. At the January meeting Robert Stephans explained the Title 1 ranking of the schools and asked if the group would like to propose a waiver which would allow the district to use Title 1 funds for just Q1 students at all of the schools rather than using the funds for Q2 students as well thereby reducing to five the number of schools that could be served. A lengthy discussion followed involving parents, aides, and principals. It was decided to postpone the vote until the February meeting, giving schools more time to "caucus". At the intervening Administrative Council meeting Superintendent Curtis asked the principals if the parents knew the group was only advisory? Did they understand that even a vote was advisory? Curtis also regretted the principal's participation in the debate over Q1/Q2. He said those differences should be settled in the Council. By comparison the meeting of Campbell's advisory committee officers is the least structured by professional staff. It is in this setting that Mrs. Encinas and her compatriots can nudge outward the traditional boundaries of parental involvement in school life.

The faculty and meetings

It should be clear from the last section that in the meetings parents attend and are encouraged to participate in they interact mainly with administrators. At such meetings teachers either play a minor (social or ceremonial) role or are absent altogether—and teaching. In this section I will describe what teachers do at their meetings, and I will examine those aspects of the teaching role at Campbell which are measurably structured by the interventions of external agencies. The relationship of the faculty to external agencies is different from that of parents. We have seen that, at Campbell at least, state and federal intervention operate to coalesce parents into groups and to sanction through such groups a more meaningful participation by parents in school life. With teachers the sanctions of external agencies, the State Department of Education in particular, operate to require an increased rationalization of schooling and teaching processes.

How often teachers meet is a function of a contractual agreement between the School Board and the Teachers Association. Contractual obligations of Campbell teachers are contained in a small, green-covered booklet entitled "Agreement Between Westland Elementary Teachers Association and the Governing Board of the Westland School District." The agreement addresses organizational security, negotiation procedures, transfers, leaves, safety conditions of employment, class size, evaluation and grievance procedures, health and welfare benefits, salaries, association and management rights. Among the provisions Article Six, "hours of employment," is frequently the object of discussion at faculty and Administrative Council meetings. It stipulates:

1. The number of duty days shall not exceed 182 days.
2. The first three duty days shall be set aside for purposes of District sponsored orientation, faculty meetings, and room preparation.
3. The work year shall include not more than 2 professional growth days.
4. Except as otherwise provided the length of the on-site duty day, including the daily 40 minute duty free lunch period shall be 7 hours.
5. An additional hour shall be added to those work days designated for in-service faculty meetings. No more than two (2) work days per week shall be designated for district or school sponsored in-service meetings or faculty meetings.
6. Each unit member shall be required to report to duty thirty (30) minutes before the commencement of his first assigned class, or thirty (30) minutes before the beginning of the school day if not assigned to teaching duties.
7. When necessary, members of the unit may be required by their immediate supervisor to perform teaching-related duties outside the duty day, which includes, but are not limited to, faculty meetings, grade level meetings, staff parent meetings, back-to-school night, open house, district and local school curriculum development, educational field trips, professional growth activities, guidance assistance to pupils, and parent-teacher conferences. In no event will a unit member be required to serve more than 20 hours per work year in these capacities.
8. All unit members shall sign in and out each duty day.

The agreement went into effect Nov. 16, 1977. Section Seven, teacher obligations outside the "duty day" was most widely discussed. At the first faculty meeting following Nov. 16 Fred Whitman referred to the 20 hour per week provision:

> Grade conferences are coming up the first week in December. If we schedule them each day 2:30 to 4:00 p.m. we can probably get through all parents in two weeks. If we do it that way the first half hour would be time you are scheduled to be at the school. The last hour will be extra time. Because of the 20 hour provision I will have to keep track of that extra time. So you'll need to sign in for the parent conferences. And the way I calculate it by the end of the conferences you will have used up 10 of the 20 hours.
>
> Julia Seda: At that rate we'll use up the 20 hours even before Christmas.[4]
>
> Whitman: That's certainly possible.

At a faculty meeting in early January the principal reported that his records showed some teachers already had close to 20 hours; others, very little. He said he couldn't keep track unless he were informed.

A month later at an Administrative Council meeting Deputy Superintendent Zuniga reminded the principals what the guidelines were governing teacher participation in in-service activities and programs:

1. Tuesdays are school site in-service days. When a program is planned, the staff is expected to be there.

2. Thursdays are shared in-service days. Options are provided, tailored to a specific concern or certification requirement - and negotiated with the principal. The staff may attend a school site program, a county in-service or a district shared in-service program.
3. If a person attends a two hour program on Thursday (say twice a month), that does not excuse him from the Tuesday obligation.
4. When teachers from one school want to attend an optional Thursday activity at another school site, principals should communicate with one another so as to know which teachers are involved in the optional activities.
5. Teachers may be allowed to leave early when they are going to attend an optional activity at another school site. All they need to do is contact the principal at the other site and sign out indicating the school they are going to.
6. As per the contract in-service is from 3:00 to 4:00 p.m. Since the teaching day lasts until 3:00 p.m., you're not supposed to start earlier just to please the teachers.

At the same meeting after Dr. Zuniga's summary, the question of teachers' working in their classrooms the afternoon of a Professional Growth Day came up. One principal argued that teachers could use the time to begin the preparation of activities they had learned about that morning. The Superintendent said he couldn't permit anything that amounted to "bulletin board or cleaning house" work. But if the staff as a team wanted to work on their management system and that was the designated in-service activity for the afternoon, that would be acceptable.

Faculty meetings

How then does the Campbell faculty spend it's time at the twice-a-week in-service meetings? The schedule for February, 1978 was worked out by the principal and an elected faculty committee:

February 7 Staff Meeting - 3.3 on the Galapagos Islands

February 9 Campbell Reading Management System Review

February 14 3.3 on the Chinese New Year

February 16 Science Education

February 21 Staff Meeting

February 23 O.L.D. Readers Theatre

February 28 Math Game Workshop

The topics agreed upon and finally discussed - or ignored - at the February meetings are a function of the requirements of external agencies, teacher interest in more knowledge about certain subject areas, the daily administrative needs of school life, the continuous definition of job boundaries and expectations, and faculty interpersonal dynamics. Notes from two meetings follow:

February 7

The speaker scheduled to talk on the Galapagos Islands had to cancel and Fred Whitman is absent. He has asked Beth Maynard to run the meeting and has given her agenda notes to follow; they are mainly announcements.

Maynard: Fred says to remind you that to get a Kaiser medical appointment you have to take sick leave.

Jackson: Does anyone take into account that you practically have to take sick leave to try to reach them by phone.

Maynard: The spelling bee is going to be the second week in March. Lists are being prepared for upper and lower grades in Spanish and English.

Maynard: Fred says there are three people ready to give a talk to us on a culture, Filipino, Chinese, and Spanish. He said we can decide at the next meeting.

Maynard: Bernice Sheldon (District reading specialist) says we should take out of the "Cum" folder the page with the list of books read and studied because it is out of date. Personally I don't think that's a good idea because it's good to know what they have covered.

Blakey: Well, some of the readers being used now are not on the list.

Maynard: Humn. I'll talk to Bernice.

Maynard: The last thing is the Goal Indicator Assessment. (See Chapter III, p. 12). Here is a sheet that states the purpose and also an example of the checklist to use with each child. Angela is coordinating our work on the Assessment.

Angela Hernandez: Fred says there is a problem with how we assess children because some teachers are marking 4 (on a scale of 1-4, the highest rating) on all traits for all their children. You know that can't be right. The District thinks teachers do that because they think they are being evaluated. It's not that. It's a program evaluation. Anyway when you fill it out you can cut out your name at the top, to be on the safe side.

The teachers look at the two sheets, start talking with each other and Beth Maynard asks if there are any questions. When there are none she adjourns the meeting.

February 16

Fred Whitman begins the meeting by asking that more parents be used in "3.3" sessions (at the previous faculty meeting—as a part of multicultural in-service training the faculty heard a talk on how the Vietnamese celebrate the Chinese New Year. It was given by a Vietnamese who is an instructional aide at another district school.) He says more parents ought to be used and reminds the teachers they committed themselves in the Comprehensive Plan to use more parents. "There are at least three parents I know of who are willing to come in anytime."

He next asks if teachers want the schedule of in-service training topics to be varied as planned by the committee or to be more concentrated on, say, oral language development. Sylvia Espinoza says they should concentrate on oral language development and then see after a month if teachers want to change. There are no other proposals. Whitman (and three teachers who attended) then report on the state bilingual education association meeting. He says there were "good" sessions on oral language development and on ideas for principals of schools with bilingual programs. Claudia Martinez says the meetings showed her that someone is "finally paying attention to the lack of literature in Spanish for elementary schools."

The final topic discussed at the meeting is a proposed survey of student attitudes toward ethnic identity. [The proposal for a survey first appeared in the spring of 1977 when the faculty prepared the 1977-78 A-127. In filling out the Instructional Support Component on Multicultural Education they stated as the single program objective

for the year:

> By June 1978, students will develop a better understanding and acceptance of the multicultural and multi-ethnic backgrounds of their classmates and community and of themselves as measured by an individual student assessment survey.

The commitment to the survey was on paper, and on file with the Department of Education and a MAR (Monitor and Review of the Comprehensive School Level Plan) was due in a month. A committee had been appointed to prepare a survey. Arlane Jackson was chairman and said she would bring in a sample questionnaire which had been used by a teacher in another district. In the first, and as it turned out, only draft, students were asked to provide biographical information and estimates of language proficiency and to respond ("Please answer one in each group") to specific statements dealing with complex aspects of ethnicity and identity. For example:

4. a. I think of myself as American ____
   b. I think of myself as Mexican ____
   c. I think of myself as Chicano ____

8. a. I think it is better to be Mexican than American ____
   b. I think it is better to be American than Mexican ____
   c. I don't think it matters, I think it is more important to be the best person I can be ____

9. a. I like having only Mexican friends ____
   b. I like having only American friends ____
   c. I like having all kinds of friends ____]

The questionnaire is distributed and Fred asks if there are question.

Bernal: It is heavily weighted toward the Spanish minority. What about Filipinos, Chinese and others?

Jackson: Well, they're Americans.

Espinoza: Are you going to ask them to sign their names?

Whitman: I don't know. What do you think?

Jackson: I've found out that students are willing to sign their names to things they say in spite of knowing that the teachers will see it.

Torres: If you give them only the Spanish or English version aren't you choosing for them the language to use.

Whitman: That's a good point. We can let them choose.

Torres: What about items on the use of language with friends and on the playground?

Whitman: That should be in there too.

The questions and suggestions trail off. Fred says the committee will work on it. He adjourns the meeting.

There was more opposition to the survey than was expressed at the meeting. Olivia Flores said afterwards:

I sometimes try to help children with their ethnic identity if I know their background but I don't want to put something into their head. About two-thirds of the class I know in this regard and the other third I don't. If the children are Mexican Americans I let them find out their own identity. That questionnaire I didn't like - and neither did Gloria (Gloria Benden, Ms.

Flores' instructional aide). I was surprised at the number of Spanish component teachers who supported it. But I wasn't going to say anything. After that pull-out issue I don't talk much at meetings.

Further opposition was expressed at the March parent officers meeting (see this chapter, p.168). The idea of the survey was dropped.

Variation in meeting topics

The two meetings reported do not reflect the range of variation in topics discussed at faculty meetings in a semester's time. Topics presented below were selected to illustrate that range; they were chosen from notes on all faculty meetings during the spring semester 1978 and a small number during the previous fall semester, 1977.

1. Criteria for hiring staff

Fred announces that candidates for the position of Librarian Media Specialist have been culled to three. "Two of them," he says, "speak Spanish fairly well but for other reasons are not in my judgment qualified, in one case because one person has had absolutely no experience working with children and in the other case because the person is cold and demanding. The third person has been working with children but can't speak Spanish. She can understand it, read it, and translate it -- she's biliterate but not bilingual." The teachers weigh the pros and cons of the three and agree they want someone who will interest children in

literature whatever language is used. They think that one candidate can probably learn to speak Spanish and is at least far enough along to be able to interact with children. One teacher points out that if the committee is going to consider someone who cannot speak Spanish then other candidates who are mainly monolingual have to be reconsidered.

2. Math Game Workshop

The District Math Specialist appears in one of the classrooms at 2:30 p.m. arms full of games and equipment. The teachers are there; Fred has not yet appeared. The specialist says Fred told her to begin and to tell the teachers that it is a "make it, take it" session. She distributes descriptions of games (see example below) and equipment and after five minutes of explanation

SOLVE-O

NAME: Markers

DIRECTIONS:

1. Each player spins the yellow spinner once. The one with the highest number goes first.
2. First player spins the yellow spinner to determine how many spaces to move. He then moves the indicated number of spaces.
3. The player must then spin the blue spinner to determine the operation he is to perform.
4. If he answers correctly, he may remain on the space. If he does not answer correctly, he must return to his former space.
5. The play continues until someone solves all of his problems and becomes a master detective!

NOTE: SIGNED NUMBER IN TOP MECHANIC OF SUBTRACTION.

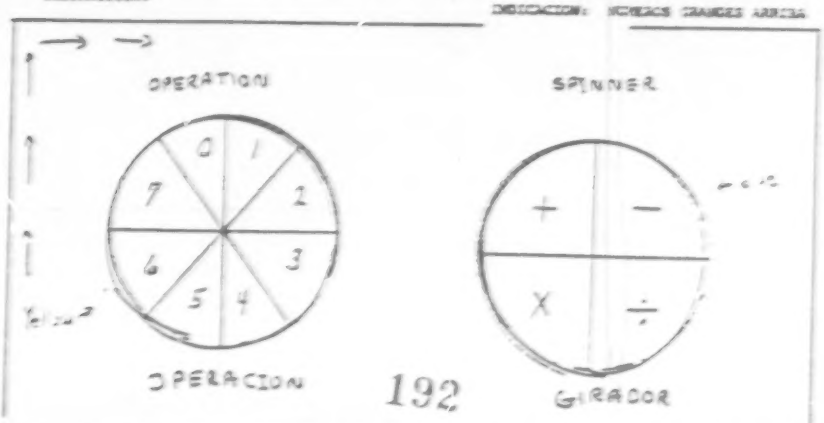
RESUELVE-LO

SE NECESITAN: Fichas de colores

INSTRUCCIONES:

1. Cada jugador gira la ruleta amarilla una vez. El que tenga el número más grande va primero.
2. El primer jugador gira la ruleta amarilla para determinar cuantos espacios puede mover. Luego, mueve su ficha a el número indicado en la ruleta.
3. El mismo jugador entonces gira la ruleta azúl para determinar la operación que debe hacer.
4. Si contesta con éxito, se queda en el espacio, más sino contesta debe regresar a su espacio anterior.
5. El juego sigue hasta que alguien resuelve todos sus problemas y se hace (un detective/a maestro)

INDICACION: NUMEROS SIGNADOS ARRIBA



the teachers go to work. Fred arrives and moves about the room talking to individual teachers. After 20 minutes teachers begin to leave as they finish putting together one or more games.

3. Preparing for substitute teachers

Fred announces that the District Director of Personnel recently met with substitute teachers and recommended to all teachers that without fail they provide each substitute a lesson plan, schedule, necessary books, and class rules, since in the latter case "students do not always inform the substitute accurately." The Director also wished it emphasized that aides are working for substitutes and not the other way around.

4. Collegial release for exception to contract

School at Campbell begins at 8:30 a.m. but first graders start at 9:00 a.m. The first grade teachers have requested permission to start their school day at 8:30 instead of 8:00 like the other teachers—and to make up the half hour at the end of the day. As per a request from the Superintendent, Fred asks the other teachers to sign a letter affirming their approval of the arrangement.

5. Use of the library

Fred has decreed that when children go to the library they will not only check out a book (if they want to) but also "do something." Judith Lawrence says her children are losing interest in going to the library because it now entails an assignment. Fred replies that he still thinks they ought to do more than check out a book but if that was all they did—and they went immediately back to the classroom

he supposed that was O.K. The teachers cannot agree and the requirements for a library visit are left to another meeting.

6. Evaluation of instructional aides

At an early May meeting Fred asks for their evaluation of instructional aides. He will be meeting with them soon and will be the one to sign the formal evaluation, in accordance with the contract worked out between bargaining agents of classified personnel and the Director of Personnel. Beth Maynard protests; she says teachers should do the evaluating because the aides work for them. Angela Hernandez points out it is a contract and you can't change that.

7. Interruptions

As Fred begins the meeting he is interrupted by the noisy play of boys in the hall. He gets up, steps to the door and asks them to go outside. Minutes later the noise starts up.

Whitman: I guess I wasn't very successful.

Hernandez: I'm surprised you didn't tell them to go outside.

Whitman: I'm trying something else.

A-127: the prime topic of faculty meetings

We have already seen in this chapter what role the A-127 plays in sanctioning parent advisory councils (p.158 and in engendering unanticipated controversy involving faculty and parents (pp.179-181). In general the plan plays a major role in organizing the formal process of setting goals (as a school and as individual teachers), choosing activities instrumental to those goals, and measuring success.

Preparing a plan for the school year and compiling material required for an evaluation of the year's plan is a major undertaking. At Campbell a majority of faculty meetings for the last three months of the school year were given over to A-127. In late February and early March the faculty had to prepare to be "marred", a site visit and evaluation report by a Monitor and Review (MAR) team. The team is appointed by the Superintendent and typically consists of the Director of Special Services, a principal from another school, two or three parents, and a resource teacher.[5] The team spends a day looking for evidence that the school has done -- or is doing -- what it said it would do.

In a school year the MAR process chronologically proceeds the development of the plan itself - for the next school year. Since that plan determines at what the evaluation will be directed I will here examine in more detail the organization and format of an A-127. The document is divided into Instructional Components: oral language development (English and Spanish), language, reading and mathematics, and Instructional Support Components: multicultural education, parent participation, parent education, staff development, and health/auxiliary services. Each component is broken down into Assessment of Need and Program Description. Two examples follow. The first is from the component on reading.

Assessment of Need

Observation of discrepancy

Grades or levels served (A)	Existing condition (What is) (B)	Desired condition (What should be) (C)	Discrepancy (What the difference is) (D)	Analysis of discrepancy (E)
K-6 LES & NES STUDENTS	4.0 Of 211 Spanish dominant students, 138 or 65% are achieving at expectancy in Spanish reading as measured by: 1. Spanish Language Adaptation of the Campbell School Management System. 2. Individual Student Needs Assessment completed 3-77. 3. Elementary Spanish Reading Achievement Card.	4.0 75% of all Spanish Dominant Students should be reading at their appropriate grade level.	4.0 10% more of the Spanish dominant students should achieve at expectancy.	4.0 Some students enter the bilingual program in the intermediate grades. 4.0a There is a lack of Spanish materials for home use. 4.0b Language is often immature in the primary grades. 4.0c There is a limited home environment for many students. 4.0d Parent pressure to learn the English language inhibits the growth of Spanish language skills.

The faculty identifies a condition/problem (65% of Spanish dominant students are achieving at "expectancy" in Spanish reading), agree on a level of improvement (75%), and then are asked to explain the discrepancy they have established. The level of improvement then becomes a program objective. Finally major solution procedures are listed (provide inservice for parents.....etc.) and these in turn become the focus of the evaluation.

Program Description

Program objective (B)	Major activities/procedures (C)	Event Schedule (at) J A S O N D J F M A M J
4.0 By June 1978, 75% of the Spanish Dominant students will demonstrate reading achievement at their appropriate grade level as measured by: 1. Spanish Reading Management System. 2. Elementary Spanish Reading Achievement Card. 3. Individual Student Needs Assessment Survey.	4.0 Maintain 3 1/2 hour instructional aide per teacher as evidenced by office records of staffing. (*)	▲ ▲
	4.1 Purchase material of the read-along type to stimulate interest and strengthen independent reading as evidenced by material requisitions. (*)	▲
	4.2 Provide inservice for parents emphasizing the benefits to their child for being in a bilingual program as evidenced by inservice notice and sign-in sheet.	▲
	4.3 Purchase additional library materials in Spanish for students to check-out as evidenced by material requisitions. (*)	▲
	4.4 Conduct an all school book fair where students may exhibit student written books as evidenced by Media Center records.	▲
	4.5 Conduct a school-wide specified "quiet reading time" for 10 minutes a day for all students and staff as evidenced by class schedules.	▲ ▲
	4.6 Reinforce Reading Comprehension and Vocabulary Development by: a. initiating questioning strategies with small groups by teacher and aide as evidenced by principals records and MAR Team Observation.	▲ ▲

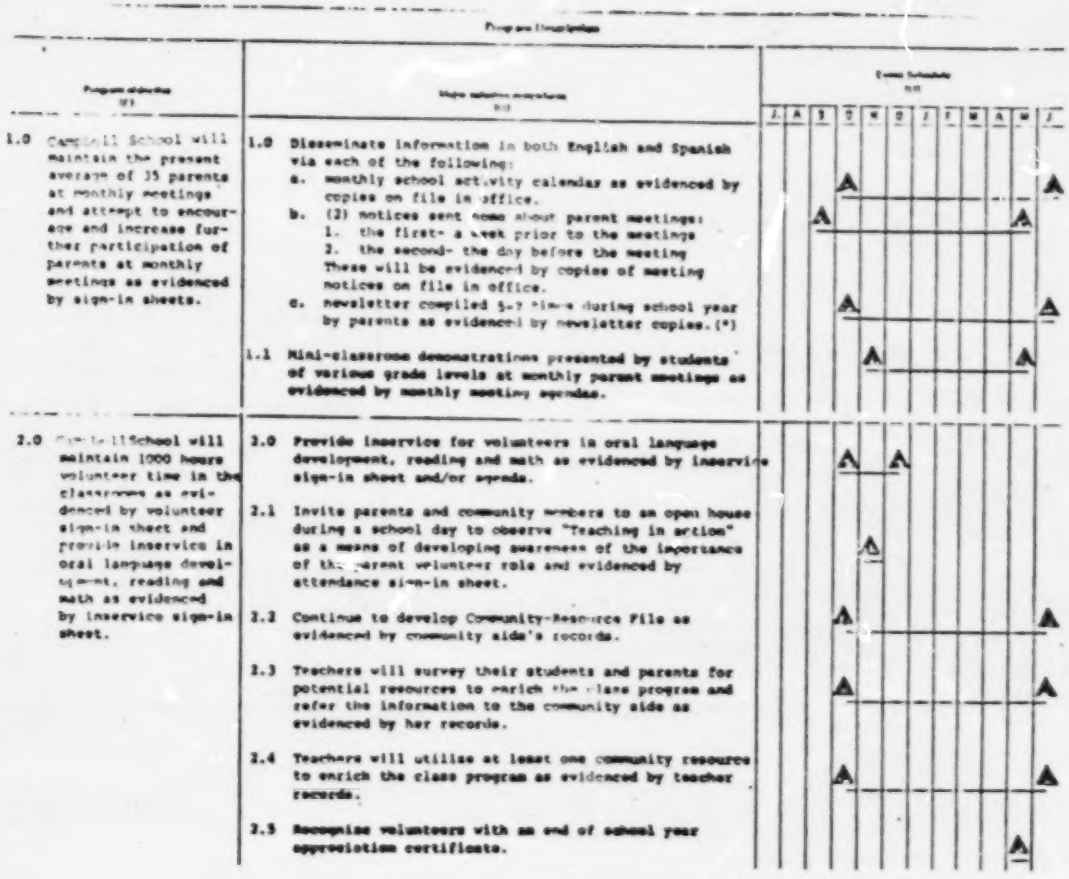
A second example is the parent participation component.

Assessment of Need

Observation of Discrepancy

Grade or Area Involved (A)	Existing conditions (What is) (B)	Desired conditions (What should be) (C)	Discrepancy (What the difference is) (D)	Analysis of discrepancy (E)
PK-6	1.0 Campbell School Advisory Committee meetings are conducted in Spanish and English and attended on the average by 35 parents on a monthly basis as indicated by monthly sign-in sheets.	1.0 Campbell School should maintain the present average of 35 parents and attempt to encourage and increase further participation of parents at monthly meetings.	1.0 None	1.0 None
	2.0 44 Volunteers donated a total of 1000 hours in the classrooms from September 15, 1976 to March 15, 1977 as evidenced by volunteer sign-in sheets.	2.0 Campbell School should maintain 1000 hours of volunteer time in the classrooms and should provide the volunteers inservice in the following areas: a. Oral Language Development b. Reading c. Math	2.0 None	2.0 None

Many of the "solution procedures" for this component are activities for which the community aide is responsible.



		J	A	S	O	N	D	J	F	M	A	M	J
1.0 Campbell School will maintain the present average of 35 parents at monthly meetings and attempt to encourage and increase further participation of parents at monthly meetings as evidenced by sign-in sheets.	1.0 Disseminate information in both English and Spanish via each of the following: a. monthly school activity calendar as evidenced by copies on file in office. b. (2) notices sent home about parent meetings: 1. the first- a week prior to the meetings 2. the second- the day before the meeting These will be evidenced by copies of meeting notices on file in office. c. newsletter compiled 5-7 times during school year by parents as evidenced by newsletter copies.(*)			▲		▲					▲		▲
				▲							▲		
						▲							▲
	1.1 Mini-classroom demonstrations presented by students of various grade levels at monthly parent meetings as evidenced by monthly meeting agendas.					▲					▲		
2.0 Campbell School will maintain 1000 hours volunteer time in the classrooms as evidenced by volunteer sign-in sheet and provide inservice in oral language development, reading and math as evidenced by inservice sign-in sheet.	2.0 Provide inservice for volunteers in oral language development, reading and math as evidenced by inservice sign-in sheet and/or agenda.				▲		▲						
	2.1 Invite parents and community members to an open house during a school day to observe "Teaching in action" as a means of developing awareness of the importance of the parent volunteer role and evidenced by attendance sign-in sheet.				△								
	2.2 Continue to develop Community-Resource File as evidenced by community aide's records.				▲								▲
	2.3 Teachers will survey their students and parents for potential resources to enrich the class program and refer the information to the community aide as evidenced by her records.				▲								▲
	2.4 Teachers will utilize at least one community resource to enrich the class program as evidenced by teacher records.				▲								▲
	2.5 Recognize volunteers with an end of school year appreciation certificate.											▲	

The document prepared for the MAR team restates program objectives and solution procedures, stipulates the documentation required and provides a four point scale for the team members to rate extent of implementation.

At a faculty meeting some three weeks before the MAR team visit Fred Whitman hands out copies of "solution procedures" for all instructional components and blank sheets on which teachers are to report specific activities.

The principal collects and assembles the reports and other data required for the evaluation, and a week before the visit Jack Newsome, Director of Special Services comes to the school to make sure the principal and teachers have done their homework.

On the morning of the visit the team meets in the principal's office. Fred Whitman begins by siting the reports and information he has collected for the team's use. Jack Newsome gives members of the team their classroom observational assignments and the group disperses. They return to Whitman's office after lunch and begin reporting on their ratings. Newsome runs the meeting. Component by component, item by item are considered and a composite rating assigned. The school receives a good report. Most items are reported as "fully implemented." Approximately 10 percent are rated as only "partially implemented," for example, a quiet reading time each day for ten minutes. Approximately 10 percent are rated as not implemented either because they are scheduled for later in the semester; e.g., all school book fair or as in the case of the student survey because they have been canceled.

With the completion of the MAR Team report the faculty must produce another assembly of "management" data, this time a <u>needs assessment</u>. The assessment is viewed by the district as preliminary to writing a school specific A-127. When the school year is over, the faculty will have spent, I estimate, approximately one-quarter of their meeting time translating teaching-learning processes into behavioral objectives and performance criteria. In Chapter III I described the role of behavioral objectives and performance criteria in the curriculum—and in this chapter, their role in planning and evaluation. They are also used in the formal evaluation of teaching performance.[6] Hence there

is at Campbell a system of analysis and prescription which is regularly applied to the pedagogy of schooling. The system focuses on specific and desired behavioral acts to be observed, measured, and quantified. It is reductionist rather than integrative. It breaks down, separates, fragments in order to insure measurability. Parents encounter it when they serve on a Monitor and Review Team or as members of an advisory committee, when they review the school's educational plan.

Many of the topics discussed at faculty and advisory committee meetings concern administrative aspects of schooling and are dealt with independent of cooperative parent-teacher interaction—the production of assessments, contractual obligations, record keeping, pre-school sign up, the role of advisory committees. There are also topics in which both groups play a fundamental role but which are not addressed collaboratively. On the question of ethnic identity parents and teachers are inextricably linked but the student survey was discussed at separate meetings. Only the principal was a participant in both. I am here not ignoring the general tenor of parent-teacher relations at Campbell, perceived by both groups as friendly, but rather pointing to a characteristic of parent-teacher relations which I have found in other school settings (1973, 1975). The schooling roles parents and teachers play are not always complementary. Personal, professional, and organizational interests which are activated and reinforced by group activity modify or reinterpret the core values about the public education of children which parents and teachers share.

Notes, Chapter IV

1. Ms. Encinas has not as yet expressed interest in becoming an instructional aide but she is moving through a pattern of school involvement which appears to make that more likely. The sequence is typically from regular attendance at parent/teacher meetings to classroom volunteer to officer of an advisory committee to instructional aide.
2. In the latter stages of the research in 1978 Ms. Cuñeo also served as a part-time assistant. She helped with parent interviews. Since 1978 she has continued as a part-time assistant, playing a major role in a longitudinal study of the 1978 sixth grade graduating class.
3. See Rodriquez (1980-81), Cruz (1979), and Matute-Bianchi (1980) for research on the role of advisory committees in school affairs. They report that in general the work of such committees is ineffectual.
4. The 20 hour limit regularly intruded in Administrative Council meetings - as the search for limits proceeded. The Superintendent was asked at one meeting if teachers should count toward the 20 hours time spent talking to parents after 3:00 p.m.
5. I was asked to serve on the team. In previous years the State Department of Education had sent a representative to take part in all such reviews but they now restricted themselves to one or two schools in each district. Campbell was not on their list in 1977-78.

6. The performance contract is one of four instruments used in teacher evaluation (See Appendix B). A copy of Gene Stinson's contract is below:

Instrument 4: Teacher Performance Contract

Objective	Performance
Reading 70% of the Spanish Component pupils in my 4th-5th Grade class will have achieved an average of 24 objectives at the end of the 1977-78 school year, as measured by Campbell Reading Management System, or one objective per week of attendance.	CRITERIA MET
Math Math objectives are identical to those of Reading, except the word "Reading" wherever it occurs, shall be replaced by "Math"	CRITERIA MET
Science My 4th-5th grade class will participate in at least 10 scientific projects, each relating to the unit currently being studied by the class. Approximately 80% of these projects will be done in the classroom and/or elsewhere on the school campus. Approximately 10% of projects will be done off-campus (field research) by individual students and/or small groups of students on their own time, and 10% off-campus by the class (5th graders only) with the teacher and interested parents and aides. All off-campus projects will be done on students', parents', and teacher's own time. Science objectives to be measured by teacher's log and principal's observation.	PARTIAL COMPLETION
Art 1. My 4th - 5th grade class will achieve some knowledge of, and participate in at least 5 art projects during the 1977-78 school year. In each project 80% of the pupils will demonstrate the ability to produce some form of art from the media available at this school. This objective to be measured by samples of student work.	CRITERIA MET
Leadership During the school year of 1977-78 I will coordinate a Math fair field day for the purpose of enrichment and motivation. (for intermediate grades, 4-6). This objective is to be measured by the successful execution and completion of the above project.	CRITERIA MET

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Chapter V. Recent developments, 1978-79 and 1979-80

The school year 1977-78 was, it turned out, a fortuitous time to conduct the research. Campbell's bilingual-bicultural program had evolved through eight years of experimentation and changing personnel and leadership. It had by the beginning of the ninth year achieved a regional reputation as a strong program, a reputation which brought to the school numerous visitors including in late spring of 1978 the State Superintendent of Instruction. His visit affirmed the status of the program and was in one sense the climax of a comparatively benign school year. The following two years were different. By fall 1979 a county grand jury had issued a report critical of language maintenance programs. Campbell's own program had been the object of a special district task force evaluation, and three teachers had received involuntary transfers. In 1979-80 Campbell was designated as one of three segregated schools in the district — a status which foreshadowed a court ordered desegregation plan. In this chapter I will briefly describe those events and developments in the period 1978-1980 which have import for the bilingual program.[1]

1978-79: Controversy about language maintenance programs

In April 1979 a county grand jury issued a report critical of language maintenance programs. The report recommended that bilingual instruction in the native language be transitional, that ESL instruction be provided only until students became functional in English, and that bicultural education be discontinued. The introduction to the recommendations asserted that "proponents have failed to convince the community at large that bilingual education is effective in developing English language competency efficiently and may actually be a push towards separatism and a dual society."

English language acquisition and ethnic isolation were the issues Arlene Jackson raised in her letter to the district desegregation committee. The controversy her letter provoked is described in the Introduction and the evaluation report it led to is reproduced in Appendix A. When I received a copy of the report I had just completed an earlier version of Chapter III but had not yet started this full length monograph. Upon reading the report—and rereading it as I completed this monograph I found no pronounced differences between their findings and mine regarding topics addressed in both documents. The data gathering procedures of the task force (as outlined in p. A-4) consisted mainly of a parent survey and meeting, a series of interviews with parents and school personnel, and classroom/playground "visitations" (approximately 20 hours carried out by five members of the task force.)

The task force found "strong parent involvement and strong parent and staff support for bilingual education." Pupils, staff, and parent community are reported to have pride in the program. At the same time the report faults the school for inconsistency in implementation of the program model and for weak-

nesses in various organizational and administrative procedures, e.g., placement and testing, monitoring achievement, keeping parents informed about the program and the progress of their children. Their data on some aspects of the administrative behavior of the school are more complete than mine. I reported on the requirement of parent permission for pupil placement but did not find out to what degree the school was remiss in obtaining such signatures. Also our findings do not agree on all aspects of the behavior settings we described. They observed playground activities and listened to language usage there and concluded, as did I, that language preference did not seem to separate or isolate children. But they heard more English on the playground than I did. They report no imbalance in the use of Spanish and English. I perceived Spanish to be the dominant language on the playground.

Their report emphasizes, more than I have, problems in interpersonal relations, e.g., "difficulty in matching team-teaching partners," "the staff is not working as a group." It may be that my original interest in studying a school relatively free of conflict affected the amount of conflict I in fact found. But the two years are different in the kind and intensity of overt conflict displayed. In addition to Arlene Jackson the two other involuntary transfers were a teaching team in the lower grades. The incipient antagonism I had observed the previous year between the two became exacerbated and more public and in time the two teachers drew parents into the conflict. The principal recommended transfer and at the end of the school year they were assigned to other schools. Although the task force report itself originated in conflict between parents and one teacher the task force did not find parent-teacher relations to be unsatisfactory.[2]

The events of 1978-79 did not lead to any major change in the organization

of the language maintenance program but the school and district effort to forestall court ordered desegregation did produce change.

1979-80: Ethnic isolation, desegregation, and a new identity

In 1979 Campbell became officially a segregated school, one therefore that was causing students "educational harm and deprivation." There is irony in the transformation of the school's identity over a ten year period. In a decade the school evolved from a condition of low status and neglect to a reputation for having a strong bilingual program and an unusually active parent constituency. It is fair to say that both past and present status and reputation are a function of the Mexican American concentration in school and neighborhood—which now is to be viewed in terms of its negative educational consequences.

With the issuance of State Board of Education Guidelines in 1978 (Title 5, Chapter 7, Sections 90-101 of the California Administrative Code) a desegregation plan became incumbent on the Westland School District. The guidelines require all California school districts "to adopt and implement plans to take reasonably feasible steps to alleviate segregation in any racially or ethnically school within its boundaries whatever its origin, because of the educational harm and deprivation it causes students." Segregated schools are those in which the minority student enrollment is "so disproportionate as realistically to isolate minority students from other students and thus deprive minority students of an integrated educational experience."[3] The guidelines allow a district to use quantitative and qualitative criteria in determining a segregated status: school racial/ethnic pupil proportions compared to the district; racial/ethnic composition of administrators, faculty and staff; attitudes of the community, administration, and staff as to whether the school is a "minority" school; the quality of the buildings and equipment; the organization and

participation in extracurricular activities. Through the use of such criteria the district—with acceptable participation by parents, teachers and county representatives—is to identify segregated schools and adopt a formal plan for eliminating the segregated condition.

A Citizens Integration Committee on Quality Education was established in July, 1978. Early meetings were marked by poor attendance, disinterest, and the underrepresentation of minority groups. The Superintendent had to make additional appointments. In January, 1979 a subcommittee on definition (of a segregated school) first proposed that segregation and/or isolation exists at a school when the percentage of minority students is more than 15% above the district average or when the enrollment of pupils of a special racial or ethnic group in a school is more than 20% above the district average. On the basis of the first of the above two criteria, Campbell became the one segregated school in the district as Table 5-1 indicates. The percentage of minority students at Campbell is 90.03%, the district average is 73.29%.

WESTLAND SCHOOL DISTRICT

Table 5-1: RACIAL AND ETHNIC DISTRIBUTION OF ENROLLMENT

November 1977

SCHOOL	TOTAL	HISPANIC	WHITE	BLACK	ASIAN or PACIFIC ISLR.	FILIPINO	AMER. IND. or ALASKAN
Cleveland	645	422 65.43%	153 23.72%	19 2.95%	30 4.65%	21 3.26%	0
Elmwood	869	371 42.69%	184 21.17%	175 20.14%	26 2.99%	109 12.54%	4 .46%
Harrison	453	177 39.07%	114 25.17%	29 6.40%	36 7.95%	97 21.41%	0
Campbell	390	338 86.67%	39 10%	5 1.28%	2 .51%	4 1.03%	2 .51%
Lakeside	453	211 46.58%	144 31.79%	52 11.48%	8 1.77%	34 7.51%	4 .88%
Johnson	523	289 55.26%	209 39.96%	7 1.34%	9 1.72%	9 1.72%	0
Southern	591	248 41.96%	193 32.66%	45 7.61%	30 5.08%	75 12.69%	0
James Allen	312	168 53.84%	103 33.01%	15 4.81%	12 3.85%	14 4.49%	0
Pacific	629	200 31.80%	161 25.60%	103 16.38%	29 4.61%	136 21.62%	0
	4,865	2,424 49.83%	1,300 26.72%	450 9.25%	182 3.74%	499 10.26%	10 .21%

When the definitions sub-committee brought this first proposal to the February Board meeting, Campbell parents were well represented. One mother asked what would happen to the bilingual program if Campbell were declared to be segregated. A second mother wanted future committee meetings to be held at Campbell and alternated between day and evening to insure better attendance. Both protested that Campbell had been singled out as the district school falling within segregated guidelines. After the meeting parents set out to help the definitions sub-committee adopt different criteria for classifying a school. New enrollment figures (March, 1979) for racial and ethnic distribution were used. They showed a district increase in total minority proportions from 73% to 79%. Campbell parents pointed out to the subcommittee that the school would at least not be segregated under the first part of the definition.

The issue became more intensely political by the time of the March Board meeting. Campbell parent groups were pushing for greater committee representation. Schools not threatened by a segregated classification were also claiming underrepresentation on the committee. The rumor of a busing plan circulated and was the occasion for Westland's mayor to attend a committee meeting and speak against busing. That Board meeting, at which a decision about classification criteria was postponed, was followed by further Committee and special Board meetings. The debate about the legitimacy of committee membership and voting rights continued and Campbell's parents kept building up their attendance. The Superintendent obtained Board approval to terminate the old Committee and appoint a new Committee with five representatives from each district school (three parents and two staff.)

At the May meeting the new committee recommended new criteria for determining a segregated status. A school would be segregated if 1) the number of Anglos in one school is less than half the district average or if 2) the enrollment of a specific racial or ethnic group is less than half the district average, percentage-wise, excluding those groups comprising less than 5% of the district student population. The Board approved the plan. Under it Campbell and two other schools were identified as out of balance. To correct that imbalance, Campbell had to increase it's enrollment of Anglos by 6, Blacks by 10, and Islanders or Filipinos by 21.

A new sub-committee, Planning, Implementing and Evaluation (PIE) was appointed to develop a desegregation plan. So the Board now had criteria to report to the State Department of Education but as yet no desegregation plan. Early fall meetings of the full committee were,like the previous year, plagued by poor attendance. At the same time new enrollment figures for November, 1979 confirmed a continuing increase in minority enrollment and decrease in Anglo enrollment throughout the district. At Campbell Hispanics increased to 91%, Anglos declined to 5% and only one Black was enrolled.

The Committee sent out a questionnaire to parents, faculty, and staff asking for program proposals and found that a large majority of parents opposed the transfer of their children to programs in other schools. The responses didn't serve to identify for the Committee a point of departure or a specific organizational change through which they could begin to develop a plan, so they chose Campbell, the most isolated school, as the focus of their deliberations--since Campbell also had room for 100 additional students.

They considered pairing Campbell with the nearest elementary school in order to send the primary children to that school and bring them to Campbell for the upper grades. They did not find the pairing plan attractive and turned to a discussion of magnet programs. Specialized programs designed to improve the quality of education in a school and attract students from other schools were being widely used in the area (and generally had court approval) as instruments of desegregation. Responses to the community survey showed that a math/science magnet was the most popular. The Committee recommended that program for Campbell and a fine arts/drama magnet for Johnson, one of the two other schools found to be isolated. The Board approved the plan in the March, 1980 meeting and stipulated that priority for magnet school enrollment would go to those students who would help balance the ethnic makeup of the school.

In its first year of implementation the desegregation plan is having unanticipated effects on the basic language maintenance bilingual program model. The desegregation instrument—a magnet program in math—is attracting children who have not been in bilingual programs. The school has always needed more English dominant pupils to reduce the proportion of Spanish dominant pupils in each class. But many of these new pupils are being assigned to English-only classes either because it is judged to be too late for them to enter a bilingual program or because parents do not want them in the program. These "required" modifications are being routinely implemented and, it appears, are not confounded by pedagogical or ideological questions relating to the integrity of the basic program model -- as might have earlier been the case. The desegregation process also reemphasizes ethnic/racial classification.

There is irony in the quota system which the principal is implementing. In order to help save the bilingual program he has to attract Anglos and discourage Hispanics. In more general terms in its role as a transmitter of national norms and values sanctioned by judicial, legislative, and administrative action the school finds itself having to engage in adaptation to conflicting expectations.

Notes, Chapter V

1. I have returned to Westland for short visits at least twice each year since 1978 to continue gathering data and supervising a longitudinal study of the 1978 sixth grade graduating class.

2. The last "miscellaneous comment" of the report is relevant to understanding parent-teacher relations:

> Although this does not pertain directly to the program, there was a concern expressed by staff members regarding parents being in the teacher's lounge. Teachers do not have a place in which they can express themselves freely—no staff privacy—and they feel uncomfortable.

In Chapter IV I spoke of organizational factors that separate parents and teachers. The above comment is a poignant reminder. Campbell is a school fairly inundated with interested and involved parents—parents on advisory committees, parents as noon supervisors, parents as volunteers (1000 hours a year), parents as instructional aides and just plain parents to see a teacher, the principal, or pick up a child. It is a condition we affirm is much to be desired in the cause of good public education but it is too much for teachers—at least those who subscribe to the plea for more privacy. There has to be some place where they can go and unload on a colleague about pupils and their parents.

3. The origins of the guidelines are attributed to the following court decisions:

> Griffen vs. Prince Edward County Board of Education: In 1964 the U.S. Supreme Court ruled essentially that time as embodied in "all

deliberate speed" had run out.

Bradley vs. School Board of Richmond: The U.S. Supreme Court ruled in 1965 that further delays in desegregation were no longer tolerable.

Crawford vs. Board of Education of the City of Los Angeles: In 1967 the California State Supreme Court held that "the right to an equal opportunity for education and the harmful consequences of segregation require school boards to take steps to alleviate racial imbalance in schools regardless of its cause."

Stacey vs. San Lucas Unified (pseudonyms): In 1977 a superior court, in the county in which Westland is located, ruled that several schools in the metropolitan unified district were segregated and ordered the presentation of a desegregation plan. That plan as finally submitted sought to alleviate racial isolation through the establishment of magnet schools.

References / Chapter V

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Chapter VI. Conclusions

In the Introduction questions about Campbell's bilingual-bicultural program were posed as a focus for the organization, presentation, and analysis of data. I have sought to answer the questions through a description of 1) classroom and school life, 2) the interaction of parents, faculty, neighborhood, and district, and 3) the nature and effects of federal and state mandates and interventions. In this chapter I will summarize findings beginning with a brief overview of the organization of the research as it evolved.

In the early stages of the research, observation and documentation of the bilingual program focused on the following categories: mandate (judicial decision, federal and state legislation and funding requirements, district policy); organization (the bilingual program model being used); classification (language competence, achievement levels, and socio-economic status of pupils); process (patterned teacher/pupil behavior, parental involvement); unresolved questions (policy formation and continuing debate at the school and district levels.) The categories are not mutually exclusive nor do they encompass all aspects of school life in which the bilingual program is manifest and to which the research attended. However, as data collection proceeded—systematic observations in classes; interviews, attendance at meetings, documentation—these categories continued to influence judgments about data synthesis and data significance. Data synthesis I define as the process through which an acceptable (but subjectively determined) number of observed repetitive behaviors are transformed by the ethnographer into patterned phenomena and subsequently assigned to a broader system matrix. Data significance is the value or ranking

the ethnographer assigns to data for purposes of refining research activities and realizing research goals. Some judgments about data synthesis and significance are less problematic than others. For example, faculty meetings at Campbell were convened twice each week and scheduled to begin at 2:30 p.m., the meeting place being rotated among the classrooms. The meetings usually began within ten minutes of the appointed time—after most latecomers arrived and the continuing absence of others was explained. There were, so far as I could tell, no organizational implications in any delay Fred Whitman, the principal, tolerated—no one teacher he felt had to be there before he could begin. So these data are unimportant and remain in my fieldnotes as instances of a type of behavior. However, as Chapter IV indicates, what transpired at faculty meetings was deemed important. Other judgments I made about the acquisition and importance of data are manifest in the chapter organization and sequence of this report.

The conclusions below are essentially restatements of major findings delineated in previous chapters. The list is not exhaustive but was selected 1) to include findings which derive specifically from the bilingual-bicultural program and those which are attributable to basic characteristics of schooling and 2) to reiterate observations about the role of biculturalism in school life.

1. The interaction of local initiative and federal legislation explains the genesis of Campbell's bilingual-bicultural program. Local initiative which led to the choice of Campbell as a program site was the result of both support for and opposition to bilingual education.

2. The history of the organization of Campbell's program reflects the evolution of federal/state intervention from permissiveness to prescription, from federal legislation and court decisions to OCR compliance rulings and the requirements of state legislation.
3. The strength of the program—a competent faculty, ample resources, skilled administrative leadership, parental support and involvement, and experience does not insure impressive academic achievement gains. The learning skill level or preparation with which children enter the school, the high proportion of Spanish dominant pupils, mobility in and out of the program, the distortion of achievement levels due to the absence of Spanish language tests, the confounding of learning problems with language dominance, the organizational complexity of the program are some of the factors which need to be taken into account in explaining the level of individual pupil achievement.
4. Testing and the accountability requirements of special funded programs result in an information overload for both district and school. The amount of pupil and school data generated far exceeds the capacity of Westland and Campbell to process and make systematic use of it.
5. The mode of state intervention in school program planning, implementation, and evaluation emphasizes behavioral outcomes and thereby fosters a narrow specification of what the school and teachers in a given period will (seek to) accomplish. This impact is reinforced by other aspects of schooling at Campbell, including in particular curriculum management systems.

6. Curriculum management systems, the dominant instructional mode at Campbell, are in their socializing effects oriented toward individual achievement values. They structure a type and sequence of behavior in which "learning to work on their own" is for pupils most instrumental to achieving academic success. This adaptive behavior is expected of all children without regard to the mediating role that cultural differences may play. At the same time the system fosters the formation and maintenance of small groups in which pupils themselves can on a more informal basis work out adaptations to cultural differences among their peers.
7. The impact of the bilingual program on teacher recruitment is to produce a faculty whose ethnic proportions more nearly reflect those of the neighborhood which the school serves. Among the nine bilingual teachers seven are Mexican American.
8. The values and norms teachers emphasize in classroom practice are "Anglo." Independence, productivity, time orientation are communicated as essential to academic success. The teachers make few distinctions between social and cultural characteristics of Mexican American and Anglo pupils. The ethnic affiliation of teachers does not appear to be an influential determinant of teacher response to cultural differences.
9. Faculty and staff present to pupils a range of bilingual-bicultural adaptation models. The professional and social use of bilingual competence is regularly demonstrated by individual faculty and staff, as is the inability to speak more than one language. Among Mexican American teachers and aides there is variation in the manifestion of ethnicity.

10. Biculturalism as program goal is in this setting a volatile social dynamic heavy with symbolic meaning. How one interprets biculturalism and what is made of it by adults in planning and justifying program development or change communicates strong attitudes and values relating to social issues and personal relations in which ethnicity is involved.

11. The language maintenance bilingual program model used at Campbell fosters and reinforces an operating interest in bicultural adaptation. Learning and maintaining two languages in this setting continuously generate materials and occasions for encountering biculturalism.

12. The protection of the bilingual program as opposed to the integrity of the language maintenance model takes precedence when change is necessary. The continuing problem with English language acquisition by Spanish dominant pupils led in 1978-79 to an increase in the proportion of (upper grade) English language instructional time from 50-50 to approximately 65-35. In 1979-80 magnet program enrollment, the desegregation instrument, led to more English-only classes.

13. An adaptive, biculturating, social experience proceeds for pupils independent of the normal academic requirements of schooling. In this regard the influence of television, movies, pop music is pronounced. These cultural materials enter the school scene freely, are recognized and sanctioned by the faculty (who at times make pedagogical and socializing use of them), and represent for pupils a shared experience that cuts across age, grade, and ethnicity.

14. The bilingual program serves the neighborhood as an instrument of social and civic action. It has become a "tradition" which fosters neighborhood cohesiveness and an arena in which parents become more

knowledgeable about and practiced in utilizing the school as a basic social institution to make their interests known and attended to. It also represents for Mexican American parents a major change in the way the school treats their ethnicity.

15. Parent advisory committees are at Campbell important vehicles for involvement in school life. The school has a reputation for having active parent groups, and parents perceive the school and its faculty as accessible to them. The committees have leverage and hence the potential for the accretion of power which is not as true for the traditional parent-teacher's association. The accretion of power proceeds through small undramatic increments of involvement in which parents obtain accountings by the administration of school activities and program development which concern them. The active role of parent groups at Campbell is primarily a function of the particular leadership qualities of the principal and community aide.

16. The principal's bilingual competence is a more important factor than his ethnic affiliation in the positive relations he has with parents. Mexican American parents are pleased that their ethnic group is represented in the office of the principal—the first and only among district principals—but they place more value on the role his bilingualism plays in their relationship to the school.

17. The community aide is a key role in the nature and extent of parent participation in school life at Campbell. The qualifications and responsibilities of the position focus on parental involvement. The principal, Fred Whitman, supports the work of the aide, and Martha Cuñeo fulfills the expectations for the position.

18. Teacher interaction with parents is characterized by cooperation and boundary maintenance. Attributes of Campbell's bilingual program which bring parents and teachers together are confounded with professional interests of teachers which separate them from parents.

The controversy about bilingual education continues unabated. I will conclude this chapter by applying the findings to three basic questions I have encountered among individuals not involved in bilingual programs. How do bilingual programs work? How well do they work? How devisive are they?

This research has answered the first question about one program at one school. Replies to the second and third question cannot be separated from values individuals and society hold about characteristics and outcomes of schooling. The findings I have presented, based on data collected in eight months of fieldwork and in visits to the school since August 1978, lead me to conclude the program works well. On balance the education and socialization of Campbell pupils are functional for them and for the broader society. Conclusions about the worth of educational programs should not be derived solely from quantitative measures of academic progress and calculations of behavioral objectives achieved—nor solely from qualitative, descriptive studies of single programs. This research displays, I believe, the rich and complex educational opportunities which develop when we take seriously the basic value of public education, respect for individual differences and cultural diversity.

The third question concerns the impact of language maintenance bilingual-bicultural programs on ethnic separatism. The use of public education to maintain a mother tongue other than English is viewed as inimical to national interests and to the best interests of the pupils themselves. Such a program,

it is argued , creates an ethnic enclave and the normal and necessary processes of socialization and adaptation to the dominant culture are arrested. Campbell's program is now called bilingual-multicultural. However it serves mainly a Mexican American population-- as it did when this research was carried out--and faculty and staff are predominantly Mexican American. Yet the data I have presented point to basic characteristics of schooling at Campbell that are dominant culture in values and socializing effects. Of equal significance is the active involvement of parents in the life of the school, a function of the program, school leadership, and mandated parent committees. Through their involvement parents learn what those traditionally in control of public education already have mastered, namely, skills required to force a basic social institution to respond to their needs. If one accepts active citizenship participation in basic institutional life as central to a strong democratic society then the increasing involvement of Campbell parents in school life is evidence that the bilingual-bicultural program is not separative but integrative.

APPENDIX A

WESTLAND SCHOOL DISTRICT

REPORT ON BILINGUAL EDUCATION AT CAMPBELL SCHOOL

Governing Board

Beatrice Snowden, President
Carol Weaver, Clerk
Dr. Tomás Merino, Member
James Lupca, Member
Phyllis Jamison, Member

Compiled by the Special Task Force

on Bilingual Education

Chairman: Manuel Zuniga, Ph.D.
Deputy Superintendent--
Curriculum & Instruction

Submitted to the Governing Board

July 18, 1979

FOREWORD

The Special Task Force on Bilingual Education would like to thank the Campbell School staff and community for their interest and support for the Bilingual Education Program, and the study being conducted by this task force.

All staff and parents contacted expressed an open and cooperative attitude toward the study, and a sincere concern over the findings.

The task force was well-received at Campbell, and made to feel welcome. The group appreciates the professional attitude of the staff, and the expression of trust in the task force and the study.

All members of the task force felt this was a very beneficial experience, and revealed a need to look closely at all our instructional programs on occasion.

Manuel Zuniga, Ph.D.
Deputy Superintendent--
Curriculum & Instruction

I. STUDY GROUP

PURPOSE:

To examine the issues recently surfaced in a letter from a Campbell staff member regarding Bilingual Education, and submit a report to the Governing Board.

ROLE AND FUNCTION:

The task force will conduct a variety of activities which will include, but not be limited to:

1. Actual classroom observation
2. Interviewing parents and school staff
3. Reviewing existing program information
4. Developing and submitting report(s)
5. Acting in an advisory capacity to the Governing Board

MEMBERSHIP:

ADMINISTRATORS: Dr. Manuel Zuniga
Deputy Superintendent

Mr. Jack Newsome
Director of Special Services

Robert Stryker
Principal, Harrison School

TEACHERS: Ms. Donna Moore
Primary Grade Teacher, Pacific School

Ms. Wendy Heath
Intermediate Grade Teacher, James Allen School

PARENTS: Mr. Roberto Sanchez
Lakeside School

Mr. Jason Wilcox
Johnson School

II. BACKGROUND INFORMATION

The District Superintendent established a special task force to address a variety of issues and questions raised in a letter from a Campbell School staff member. During May and June, the task force spent time at Campbell School investigating a number of issues covered in the letter. We did the following:

1. Reviewed the salient points of the letter
2. Developed a set of questions which would address the issues at hand
3. Conducted on-site visitations at Campbell School
4. Interviewed Campoell School staff (principal, teachers, aides, etc.)
5. Conducted a review of all available evaluation data
6. Conducted parent meeting (40 + parents attended)
7. Developed and conducted parent survey (60 families visited by Community Aides).

III. TASK FORCE REPORT

THE MODEL

1. Time schedules
2. Correlation between programs; sharing objectives, etc.
3. Understanding of model; how does actual practice reflect the model?
4. How is student time in each component planned and monitored?

Observations:

a. There is no structured plan--no general procedure. (Not adhering to model.)

b. ESL/SSL - There is a question of value and appropriateness. (Parents do not feel SSL children are making the progress they should.)

c. There is a difference of opinion on time schedule among parents.

d. Teachers felt a need for more English. Parents were divided on this issue.

e. Students and their needs have changed since the model was first made. We had more NES students then, and now have a preponderance of LES.

Recommendations: (Letters do not correspond to "Observation" letters.)

a. A series of meetings is needed to review time schedules and discuss flexibility. (Need for a decision-making process.)

b. There is a question of changing kids from Spanish to English. When should this be done? We need to take a closer look at mixing of languages. Parents feel a need for more parent counseling to keep them better informed.

c. A need exists for more grade level (vertical and horizontal) articulation, including at the Preschool level.

d. Administration needs to take a close look at the matching of team teaching partners.

e. There is a need to redo the model, as a group. We have the option of embracing "Paso Por Paso" or developing Campbell school model in conjunction with "Paso Por Paso."

f. We need to have several options for those children who are underachievers.

PARENT INVOLVEMENT

5. How are parents counseled regarding placement?

6. How are parent conferences coordinated?
7. Are parents provided pupil growth in both languages?

Observations:

a. There is a need to have a better understanding of the parents' role within the model.

b. Parents want more parent meetings to be kept abreast of the progress of the students.

c. Parents are not sure how CTBS information is used.

d. Parents have a concern of kids saying they were not allowed to speak English (or Spanish) at school. (Circumstances may have been a factor--there was an experiment at Campbell during which certain days or weeks were designated for use of one language or the other.)

e. Parents need to be informed of possible shifts or placement of children or program changes.

f. Parents need to be involved in, and give consent to changes in the program.

g. Parents and teachers both have an obligation to keep involved and informed regarding the program.

Recommendations:

a. Parents need to have constant orientation or training sessions as to what happens at various grade levels in the Bilingual Program.

b. Parent permission slips are mandated for all children enrolled in the bilingual program. In addition, parents must also sign appropriate forms when a student is moved within the program.

c. The role of the parent needs to be defined in the model. (See previous section.)

d. School needs to monitor how each child is doing in each component, and keep the parents informed.

e. Parents have a concern about the Proficiency Standards, and how we are tracking the children once they leave Campbell for the junior high. There is a concern regarding the number of drop-outs at the junior and senior high levels. Parents need to be aware of the Proficiency Atandards, and we need to develop this. This is a school issue, as well as a district issue.

FREE TIME

8. What about free time conversation? Are both languages evident? Should they be?

Observations:

Concern was expressed by aides that much more Spanish was being used during free time than English. (Parents were not oberly concerned with this area.)

Observation on the playground by the team did not prove this out. Children seemed comfortable in both languages. Both languages were evident, and children did not seem separated by language preference. It appeared to be a healthy environment, and children had positive self-images.

ASSEMBLIES

9. Review of assemblies, etc. Are they "bicultural"?

Campbell School is moving to an appropriate balance in this area. They are working hard to achieve a good multicultural balance. (Will continue to watch.)

STRENGTHS & WEAKNESSES

Strengths:

a. Children had a positive self-image. (Kids felt good about themselves.)

b. Children were being taught basic skills in two languages; concept of bilingual education being important.

c. Strong parent involvement (especially among Spanish-speaking parents) was in evidence.

d. Parents want to know how they can help.

e. Strong parent and staff support for Bilingual Education

f. Strong cultural activities for students

g. School/community pride in the program

Weaknesses:

a. There exists an inconsistency in the program being followed.

b. There seems to be some difficulty in the matching of team teaching partners--personality/philisophical clashes.

c. There is an implied opinion that kids are not successful in junior high-- need to do more preparation of children for junior high school.

d. The monitoring of achievement and wxpectations of students in both languages is not as strong as it should be.

e. There is an inconsistency of placement procedures. Parent and staff roles need to be clarified.

f. The staff is not working as a group.

g. Aides feel they are left out of the decision-making process and staff meetings, etc.

h. No teaching is going on while testing is being done. (This is a problem at all schools.) There is a district-wide weakness in organization of testing.

i. There are no options for underachievers in either language.

j. Up until this year, we have not had information regarding achievement in Spanish (test-wise).

MISCELLANEOUS COMMENTS

a. At no time did anyone say "do away with Bilingual Education."

b. There were about as many parents who had no concerns as those who did.

c. Although this does not pertain directly to the program, there was a concern expressed by staff members regarding parents being in the teachers' lounge. Teachers do not have a place in which they can express themselves freely--no staff privacy--and they feel uncomfortable.

'ESTLAND SCHOOL DISTRICT

EVALUATION OF TEACHING PERFORMANCE

Name _____ Date _____
(last) (first) (initial)

Position _____ School/Department _____

Period Covered by this Evaluation _____

Dates of Conferences _____ / _____ / _____

Number of Observations _____
(Dates and/or observances)

STATUS OF TEACHER: Probationary (Year) ___ Permanent ___ Years in District ___ Grade level or Subject ___

Evaluator: _____

INSTRUMENT I: Personal Characteristics

Rating Scale:

1. Satisfactory
2. Unsatisfactory
3. Not applicable

a. Performs duties and instruction for safety and will-being of child and staff. (See Chapter IV, A-1a) ☐ Comments: _____

b. Reflects sensitivity to the needs of pupils and parents of all ethnic, cultural, educational and economic backgrounds. (See Chapter IV, A-1b) ☐ Comments: _____

c. Maintains a neat, clean and functional appearance. ☐ Comments: _____

d. Meets standards for physical and mental health. ☐ Comments: _____

INSTRUMENT 2: Classroom Teaching

a. Helps develop in each pupil an awareness of his worth as an individual in his family, school and community. (See Chapter IV, A-2a)

☐ Comments: _____

b. Demonstrates knowledge of subject matter and shows skills in teaching techniques. (See Chapter IV, A-2b)

☐ Comments: _____

c. Identifies pupil needs--cooperates with staff, auxiliary personnel and district supportive staff in providing adequate learning activities to help solve health, attitude and learning problems, (See Chapter IV, A-2c)

☐ Comments: _____

d. Complies with and instructs pupils in basic elements of citizenship as prescribed. (See Chapter IV, A-2d)

☐ Comments: _____

e. Adapts the curriculum to the needs of each pupil through the use of instructional materials, planning and group and incividualized instruction.

☐ Comments: _____

f. Maintains classroom control and creates a suitable learning environment in which emphasis is placed upon the development of a positive self-concept. (See Chapter IV, A-2f)

☐ Comments: _____

g. Evaluates pupil's academic and social growth--keeps appropriate records, communicates with parents.

☐ Comments: _____

Evaluation of Teaching Performance
Continued -3-

h. Selects and requisitions books and instructional materials and maintains required inventory records. (See Chapter IV, A-2h)

☐ Comments: _____

i. Administers individual and group standardized tests in accordance with district testing program.

☐ Comments: _____

INSTRUMENT 3: OUT-OF-CLASSROOM RESPONSIBILITIES

a. Participates in activities which are conducive to professional self-development. (See Chapter IV, A-3a)

☐ Comments: _____

b. Shares in necessary nonteaching duties. (See Chapter IV, A-3b)

☐ Comments: _____

c. Participates in curriculum development programs within the school and/or district.

☐ Comments: _____

d. Plans and coordinates the work of aides, teacher assistants and other paraprofessionals as necessary. (See Chapter IV, A-3d)

☐ Comments: _____

e. Works with Parents and community groups for the betterment of students. (See Chapter IV, A-3e)

☐ Comments: _____

INSTRUMENT 4: TEACHER PERFORMANCE CONTRACT

Signature of Evaluatee _____ Position _____

Date _____ Signature of Evaluator _____

Instructions: The evaluatee and the evaluator will mutually agree on objectives in a preliminary conference. Performance relative to each objective is to be discussed during the evaluation conference.

Objective	Performance

SUMMARY - Evaluation of Parts 1-4

Instructions: 1. Commendations and recommendations must include those relative to the objectives--Performance Contract.

2. Comments which indicate a need for improvement should be specific in nature and recommend methods of improvement.

Evaluator Comments: _____

_____

_____

Evaluatee Comments: _____

_____

_____

_____

Reemployment Recommendations: (To be completed at the Spring Evaluation Only)

_____Retain _____Retain But Must Show Improvement _____Do Not Retain

For Third Year Probationary Teachers Only:

Do you recommend that this teacher be placed on a tenure basis? _____

This report has been discussed with me in conference with the evaluator. An opportunity has been extended to me to make additional comments regarding this evaluation.

It is understood that no changes or additions will be made without the consent of both parties.

A signature on this evaluation does not necessarily signify agreement with the evaluation.

_____ _____ _____
Date Evaluatee

_____ _____
Date Evaluator